BAPTIST REVIEW AND EXPOSITOR

Vol. II. OCTOBER, 1905. No. 4.

A BRIEF EXAMINATION OF THE GOULD MANUSCRIPT.

BY CHAMPLIN BURRAGE, M. A.

[Mr. Burrage, the writer of this article, has recently attracted considerable attention in religious circles in England and the United States by the discovery of a manuscript of Robert Browne, the father of Congregationalism in England in the 16th century. An account of the manuscript, which hitherto, in recent times, had been known only through a reference to it in a sermon by Richard Bancroft, later archbishop of Canterbury, was published in *The Independent* of New York, nearly two years ago. The Browne Manuscript, with introduction by Mr. Burrage, has since been published in pamphlet form by the Congregational Historical Society, London, England. Mr. Burrage has also made other important "finds" in his search through old libraries in Great Britain. He has also recently published an important work, of interest to all who hold to the Congregational idea of church polity, entitled *The Church Covenant Idea, Its Origin and its Development.*–Editors.]

INTRODUCTION.

Hardly a book concerning Baptist history has been published during the last fifty years of really greater significance than the modest and somewhat uninteresting appearing octavo volume entitled "Open Communion and the Baptists of Norwich. . . . . With an Introduction, By the Rev. Geo. Gould." Norwich, 1860. Indeed, the publication of this book may be said to have commenced a new era in the study of Baptist history. Yet, for a time, the volume seems to have been so entirely overlooked that not even Dr. B. Evans, the historian, appears to have made any important use of it. In time, however, Mr. Gould's valuable "Introduction" found an

appreciative reader in an American professor, Dr. William H. Whitsitt, then President of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, who discovered in it the new and unexpected statement, that contrary to the accepted tradition the English Baptists had not practiced immersion before 1641. The discovery seems to have been made in the summer of 1880, and articles supporting the new view were anonymously published by Professor Whitsitt in the New York Independent for September 2nd and 9th, 1880.

In 1881, Dr. Henry Martyn Dexter published his learned work, entitled "The True Story of John Smyth, the Se-Baptist, as Told by Himself and his Contemporaries: With an Inquiry Whether Dipping were a New Mode of Baptism in England, in or about 1641." The appearance of this book, containing so much glaring novelty, was the occasion of considerable discussion on the part of most of the Baptist writers of that time interested in historical matters; but nevertheless, in the main, it has withstood all attacks, and even after the lapse of twenty-five years it remains the most scholarly production ever likely to be written on the subject. When Dr. Whitsitt, fifteen years after, acknowledged himself to be the real discoverer of the 1641 view, there were few of the Baptist denomination who accepted his opinion, but as time has gone on his conclusions have been received among Baptist scholars in the Southern as well as in the Northern states with more and more general favor.

During the past quarter of a century a considerable, if not exhaustive, body of evidence has been gathered in support of the new view. Since 1896 the Gould Manuscript, prepared for the late Rev. George Gould, of Norwich, in connection with the "St. Mary's Norwich Chapel Case" of 1860, has been located and carefully examined, and the literature of the period before and after 1641, also, has been critically explored. In a word, about everything possible has now been done with the

exception of determining one point, hitherto apparently beyond the range of definite and final solution, namely: Who was the original compiler of the Gould Manuscript? This point, with certain questions relating to it, the present writer in the following pages seeks to answer.

THE GOULD MANUSCRIPT.

During the past seven years the writer has spent much time among books in various libraries of Europe and America, and many a delightful experience he has had in searching for some exceptionally rare voluume. In the summer of 1901, with his then very limited knowledge of library collections in London, he found himself for a time utterly unable to locate a certain manuscript which he especially desired to consult; but at last, after rather vexatious delays, he succeeded and secured the opportunity of examining it. He can still recollect the keen satisfaction he felt, when his eye first rested on the beautiful penmanship and clean pages of the Gould Manuscript. At this time, the writer made the acquaintance of the Rev. George P. Gould, M. A., Principal of Regent's Park College, London, a son of the late Rev. George Gould of Norwich and present owner of the Gould Manuscript, an acquaintance for which he has many times since been thankful, and especially was this the case in the late autumn of 1902, when he commenced certain investigations that have resulted in part in the preparation of the following pages, and in bringing into the light at Regent's Park College the admirable collection of Baptist books and manuscripts, gathered together about 1860 by the late Rev. George Gould* of Norwich,

* In this connection a few words concerning the Rev. George Gould may be of interest. Mr. Gould, the writer understands, was not a university graduate, but the "Introduction" to his book, "Open Communion and the Baptists of Norwich," as well as the collection of books that he made, show him to have been a man of unusual scholarly ability, and critical insight; qualities, nowhere manifested more conspicuously than in the transcription of the manuscript known by his name, as this volume has preserved for the Baptist denomination certain very important documents which otherwise might have been almost totally lost.

carefully preserved by Principal Gould until the autumn of 1902, but before that time inaccessible to anyone outside of the Gould family. This comparatively small but excellent collection (perhaps three hundred items in all) contains some of the rarest and most valuable books and pamphlets relating to Baptist history to be found in all England, also several manuscripts of great importance. By means of the information contained in these volumes, the "St. Mary's Norwich Chapel Case" was won by Mr. Gould. Hereafter it may be hoped that the collection will serve a larger purpose than it has during the last forty years, and may give an increasing impetus to Baptist historical study. Among these volumes the Gould Manuscript may now be found, and it is certainly one of the most important of the treasures in the collection.

Though frequent reference in recent years has been made to the Gould Manuscript, and its contents, it will doubtless be well at the beginning of the present discussion to give a brief description of the volume. It is a good-sized folio, half-bound, and contains transcripts of a considerable number of documents pertaining to the history of the early English Baptists. The manuscript begins with thirty numbered sections covering many pages, which are followed by several pages of unnumbered documents, and then by a long section which contains several subdivisions and which bears the general title "Records of the Barkshire Association," etc. The work of transcription, with the exception of about a page and a half copied by Mr. Gould himself, was entirely done by the elderly Mr. William Keymer, a Master in Grey Friars' Priory School, Norwich, who wrote a very beautiful hand, and whom Mr. Gould could trust to make a scrupulously accurate copy. The volume, therefore, makes an excellent impression in general, but strange to say, it does not bear the name of the original compiler, and this fact has been used to disparage its historical value.

Indeed, at first sight, the absence of the compiler's name seems to be a serious defect, but ultimately proves

for the Gould transcript,to be none at all; as a whole, can be proved to have had no other compiler than the Rev. George Gould himself; and further the manuscripts from which it was transcribed were also themselves anonymous. In spite of this last fact, however, in the new light, which during the past two years and a half has been brought to bear on the material contained in the Gould volume, the writer of these pages has finally succeeded not only in determining beyond all doubt the original compiler of the first thirty and most important documents contained in the Gould Manuscript, but also in elucidating various other problems that have arisen concerning it.

On the back of the binding of the Gould Manuscript are stamped the words, "Notices of the Early Baptists." The first words within the volume are almost as anonymous,—"A REPOSITORY of Divers Historical Matters relating | *to the English Antipedobaptists. Collected from Original Papers | or Faithfull Extracts. | Anno 1712. | I began to make this collection in Ian: 1710-11. | Numb: 1. | The Records of an Antient Congregation of Dissenters | from wch many of ye Independant & Baptist Churches in London | took their first rise: ex MSS of W. A. Iessey, wch I recd. of Mr. Rich Adams." With these few words for his only guide to the solution of the problem as to the name of the original compiler of the Gould Manuscript, the writer in the autumn of 1901 set himself to the task. It first occured to him that the Rev. John Lewis of Margate might possibly have been the original collector of the various documents included in the Gould transcript; but it was found necessary to abandon this theory at once, for Lewis in one place† quotes Crosby's version of the

*The upright lines have been inserted by the present writer to indicate the ending of the lines in the Gould text. Further on account of the requirements of the printer all superior letters occuring in the quotations in this article have been reduced to the line.

†In his "Brief History of the English Anabaptists" "a 2d Edition prepared for the Press." fol. 41. This edition was never printed and exists only in manuscript.

so-called Kiffin Manuscript (No. 2. of the Gould MS.) in such a way as plainly to show that he (Lewis) had never seen the original and had to take Crosby's statement concerning it for what it was worth. Lewis was a contemporary of Crosby and a somewhat severe, though, from present revelations, apparently just critic of some of his ideas concerning Baptist history.

Now if the Rev. John Lewis of Margate was not the original compiler of the material at present comprised in the Gould transcript, it seemed to the writer that there was only one other person at all likely to have collected these documents. That was Benjamin Stinton, †whose manuscripts, Crosby says (Vol. 1, p. l.), furnished a large proportion of the material used in the preparation of "The History of the English Baptists." But would Stinton meet all the requirements of the case? The writer began to look carefully into the matter. He found that Crosby says (Vol. IV, p. 363.) that Benjamin Stinton died "on the 11th of *Feb.* 1718, in the *forty-third* year of his age." He was living then in 1712. Thus far well. But now who was the Mr. Rich Adams mentioned in sections 1 and 2 of Gould Manuscript, and was there a person of that name living in 1710, who would have been likely to possess such important Baptist documents and especially to have given them to this Mr. Benjamin Stinton about that time?

On looking at Crosby (Vol. III. pp. 37-8) the writer found the description of just such a man, who some time

† The writer is not the first to suggest Stinton as the original collector of the material now embraced in the Gould MS. Dr. George A. Lofton had done that in 1899, but the writer, before reading his works, independently came to this same conclusion, and is the first, he believes, *definitely to prove* that Stinton was the compiler *only of the first thirty sections* of the Gould MS. The two works of Dr. Lofton, published in 1899 and entitled, "English Baptist Reformation. (From 1609 to 1641 A. D.)" . . . Louisville, Ky., and "Defense of the Jessey Records and Kiffin Manuscript . . . Appendix to English Baptist Reformation from 1609 to 1641 A. D.," Nashville, Tenn., deserve a wide circulation and contain much interesting critical information closely related to the present subject.

about 1676 came to London, and who "'was,' says Dr. Calamy, 'an Anabaptist, and succeeded Mr. Daniel Dyke, in the care of the congregation at Devonshire-square, a man of great piety and integrity.' He lived to a very great age, by reason of which, he could not preach some years before his death". Now William Kiffin had been an earlier pastor at Devonshire-Square, and it would seem extremely likely that Mr. Adams might have secured these important documents and later have given them to the prospective author of a Baptist History, Benjamin Stinton, who in 1710 was pastor of a Baptist Church "upon Horsely-down," London, having succeeded his father-in-law, the well known Benjamin Keach, in the pastoral office, and concerning whom, Crosby says (Vol. IV, p. 365), "had the providence of God continued his life, till he had accomplished his intended design [of writing a complete Baptist History], I doubt not, but the learned would have readily born a testimony to him, and have rank'd him amongst the greatest men of his time." Crosby does not say in what year Richard Adams died, but in the "Baptist Year-Book" he is reported to have died in 1716. Thus the probable original compiler of the Gould Manuscript had evidently been found. Still the writer naturally desired more definite evidence, but his plans required him to return to America with the problem no further solved. In the autumn of 1902, however, just before coming back to England, he one day fortunately found a reference to a Stinton manuscript. Here certainly was something worth remembering. Indeed might not this manuscript be the lost original of the Gould Volume?

Shortly after the writer's arrival in England, an opportunity to examine this Stinton manuscript was afforded him. It proved to be a small quarto in its original binding with the title "A | IOURNALL | of the Affairs | of the | ANTIPAEDOBAPTISts | Beginning with the Reign of King | George, whose Accession to ye Throne | was on ye First of August, 1714. | As the same was kept, | By

Benjamin Stinton." (For convenience we will call this manuscript *A*.) On the back of the volume was written in ink, "No. IV." An examination of the material in the manuscript, however, showed the writer that it contained the original text of only a considerable part of the fourth volume of Crosby's "History of the English Baptists." This was rather disappointing, yet even such a discovery was a distinct advance toward the solution of the problem undertaken, for it now appeared that Stinton must have written more than one volume that Crosby embodied in his work.

Not long after this a pleasant surprise was given the writer. He had undertaken to make an exact transcript of the documents found in the Gould Manuscript, when it occured to him to ask Principal Gould if the original might not possibly be hidden away somewhere about Regent's Park College. This was a fortunate inquiry. The writer received an unexpected answer, to the effect that he might look for himself, and shortly after all the Baptist books collected by the Rev. George Gould were brought before him for examination. Among these were several early manuscripts pertaining to the Baptists. One of the latter was a small quarto, evidently of the early eighteenth century, bound in its original green binding, entitled, "An account of Some | of the | Most Eminent & Leading Men | among the | English Antipædobaptists. | Eccles: 44.8. | There be of Them that have left a Name behind | them, that their Praises might be reported. | In Epistola Bezae Scripta, 1566. | Quosdam inter Anabaptistas esse bonos, veros Servos | Dei, Christi Martyros & chrissimos Fratres Nostros." [No author, no place, and no date of writing are given.] (For convenience we will call this manuscript *B*.)

Here certainly was something interesting. The manuscript was written in two different hands, and from the general appearance of the volume, the material in it, and the characteristics of the first hand, it appeared to be nothing less than an anonymous work of Benjamin

Stinton's, to which later additions had been made by some one, the writer supposed by Thomas Crosby,—a conclusion that has since been verified beyond all doubt. Almost every important item in the volume was printed somewhere in Crosby, but some paragraphs had been omitted by him and some parts improved, and the ordering of the material, except what had apparently been written by Stinton, had been greatly changed. Here, indeed, was a "find" in the right direction, that later might profitably be more closely examined.

Another manuscript of special importance was a thin folio bound in limp vellum which for convenience we may call *H*. It was an original, and two or three of its sections bore the date 1652. But it had no title-page, and although the writer examined this volume very carefully, he failed to find in it any of the first thirty numbered documents contained in the Gould transcript. This was truly disappointing, but there was much yet that deserved attention among these old books and manuscripts, and when the most important part of the collection had been catalogued and arranged on shelves behind mahogany doors, the writer felt that at last it was suitably located.

As the writer continued his study of the Gould volume, a new point of interest occasionally came to his notice, One day he discovered that this manuscript contained in reality at least two main sections, and probably an intermediate section originally not belonging to either, and that this material must have been transcribed from two or more distinct volumes. To this conclusion he was brought by finding that the original of the entire latter part of the Gould Manuscript, with the exception of the final note in the Rev. George Gould's own hand concerning William Turner's "A Preservative or triacle, agaynst the poyson of Pelagius,...1551," was to be found in the old manuscript in limp vellum (i. e. *H*). This discovery was of two-fold importance,—First, it helped to determine more exactly the contents of the volume from which the first thirty sections of the Gould Manuscript had been

transcribed; and secondly, it enabled the writer to get an accurate idea of the care which Mr. Keymer had taken in preparing this transcript.

As time went on the writer undertook to make a copy of the contents of the previously mentioned anonymous and undated green quarto, *B*; but it proved too extensive a task and he shortly abandoned it. At the bottom of page 11, however, he met with an important statement, in which reference is made to a letter signed H. H. (to be found in "I.P. Anabaptismes Mystry of Iniquity"), concerning which the anonymous author of the manuscript says, "I have therefore put it into ye Collection of Originals Numb: 7."

Turning at once to the Gould volume and opening it at "Numb: 7:" the writer found a copy of this very letter signed "H. H." Thus a direct relationship between the lost original of the first thirty numbers of the Gould transcript and the first sixty-six pages of the anonymous green quarto, *B*, had evidently been found. They were undoubtedly the work of the same man, and that man must be Stinton. But now the question arose, How, beyond all question, could these manuscripts be linked with the name of Benjamin Stinton? It will be remembered that reference has previously been made to a manuscript, *A*, on the title-page of which Stinton's name is directly given as the author. On examining the contents of this, the writer found that in one place six pages, (pp. 93-98), had providentially been left blank where a letter from "the Elders & Churches of Iesus Christ at Pensylvania in America" "of the 20th of Iuly," [1715,] should have been inserted. This contained a "particular account . . . of the begining & Progress of the Gosple in those parts of the World, and of the Number and present State of the Churches," . . . . Now a copy of this very document forms "Numb: 26" of the Gould Manuscript, where the date "1715" is also given. Here, then, was the last link of the chain that would bind these three volumes together and would make Benjamin Stinton, therefore, the origi-

nal compiler of at least the first thirty numbers in the Gould transcript.

Another discovery awaiting the writer confirmed this conclusion. About a year and three quarters ago, Principal Gould found another Stinton original in the Angus Collection (also located at Regent's Park College), a small quarto in modern binding, which for convenience we will call *C*. The first part of this is in the hand of Benjamin Stinton, and the latter part in that of Thomas Crosby. The volume contains autographs of both of these men, and the title page reads:—"A | Iournal | of the | Affairs of ye Antipædobaptists; | begining with ye Reign of King George, | whose Accession to the Throne was on the | first of August: *1714.* | Kept by me, Benja: Stinton." This is almost exactly the title of the other Stinton manuscript signed with his name, *A*, but the other, *A*, is much more finished and complete than this, *C*, while this is certainly written in his own hand.

Now this Angus copy, *C*, has an important statement on page 59, where it says:—"Towards ye latter end of this year [1716] we received a letter from ye Baptist Ministers & Churches in Pensilvania in America, where in they gave us a large & particular Account of ye Begining & progress of the Gospel in those Parts, the Present Number of their Churches ye Names & Curcomstances of their Ministers, wth several other particulars, a Copy of wch I have put in my Collection of Historical Matters . . . ." [A transcript of this forms "Numb: 26" of the Gould Manuscript, as previously mentioned.]

Here, then, was confirmation of the evidence placing it beyond all doubt that Benjamin Stinton was at any rate the original compiler of the first thirty sections of the Gould transcript, which (thirty sections) evidently in this place he calls his "Collection of Historical Matters," and in the green quarto, *B*, "ye Collection of Originals." This Angus Stinton original, *C*, also served to establish the writer's belief, that the first sixty-six pages of the anonymous, undated green quarto, *B*, were written in

Stinton's own hand and the remainder in Crosby's own hand, for a comparison of these two manuscripts made the truth of that supposition unquestionably certain.

The writer, it probably has already been noticed, has limited Stinton's work in the original volume (from which the first main division of the Gould Manuscript was transcribed) to merely the thirty numbered sections, not including the two or three unnumbered sections immediately following them. This seemed necessary for these three reasons.—1. Stinton cannot possibly have written *some* of the material between "Numb: 30" and the beginning of the "Records of the Barkshire Association," for at least one dated section is years too late for Stinton ever to have seen. 2. If Stinton had written the intermediate sections after "Numb: 30." he would probably have numbered them also; but these later sections are not numbered. 3. One of these later unnumbered sections has reference to "Mr. Crosby's History of the Baptists sufferings," and is largely quoted by him in his third volume. Judging from these facts and the contents of known Stinton originals, the writer concludes that Stinton was the original compiler of only the thirty numbered sections, and that the material found in the Gould transcript between "Numb: 30" and the "Records of the Barkshire Association" was added by Crosby on the remaining blank pages of the now lost Stinton manucript.

Some months ago the writer also made a further discovery in regard to the lost original of the first main division of the Gould transcript, which it seems strange that he had not made long before. He had been puzzling over the question as to what this lost manuscript which Stinton in one place calls "ye Collection of Originals" and in another "my Collection of Historical Matters," had for a title, and whether it was dated and signed with his name. As the writer glanced over the first page of the Gould volume the answer came to him, for in the first four lines of the transcript he saw that the Rev. George

Gould had fortunately preserved the title of the lost Stinton original. It was anonymous, and probably Mr. Gould himself did not know who was the actual compiler of the first thirty sections, but he evidently did know with certainty that Crosby used the volume from which he had the transcript made,* and this was the title of the original:—"A REPOSITORY of Divers Historical Matters relating to the English Antipedobaptists. Collected from Original Papers or Faithfull Extracts. Anno 1712." This lost "Repository" . . . for convenience we will call *D*.

It may safely be said, then, that we now know three original manuscripts of Benjamin Stinton and the copy of a fourth. It is to be hoped that others also may be found, as others must have been written. Indeed of at least one other we have probably the entire contents given in the Preface to Vol. I of Crosby's "History of the English Baptists."† Most of all, however, let us hope that the "Repository," *D*, may be located, for it contains the now well-known statement, which has helped to revolutionize English Baptist history. In case, however, that the original should never be found, let us be thankful that by means of the Gould copy, the veil of tradition, which has concealed a point in the true early history of the denomination for two hundred years, has at last been removed.

———————

Now these discoveries have an important bearing on our understanding of the structure of the Gould Manuscript. They show that this volume is not a unit in the sense that all the material now contained in it was *originally* collected by one man and copied from one volume. What the Gould Manuscript contains, *as a whole*, was determined by the Rev. George Gould himself and, therefore, by his name it should proprly be known, for he was its real compiler. He also gave the volume its only

*See his "Open communion and the Baptists of Norwich." 1860 pp. cxxiii-cxxiv.

†Pp. xviii-lxi. See also Vol. I., p. I, and Vol. IV, p. 365.

suitable title, which is not "A REPOSITORY of Divers Historical Matters. . . . . 1712," as may hitherto have been supposed, but "Notices of the Early [English] Baptists," stamped on the back of the volume, which, it can now be seen, was clearly intended to contain transcripts of whatever rare and interesting documents could be found pertaining to the subject.

———————

The discovery of the three previously mentioned Stinton manuscripts also helps to answer certain other questions that either have been or may be raised in relation to the lost Stinton "Repository" which for convenience we have called D, or to the Gould copy of it. Among others the following may be mentioned,—

1. Did this lost Stinton manuscript, transcribed by the Rev. George Gould and the old school master, contain the W. A. Jessey Records ("Numb: I") and the Kiffin Manuscript (Numb: 2"), in their original documentary form, or copies of them made by Benjamin Stinton, and written on the pages of the manuscript? Judging from the three Stinton originals, with which the writer is now acquainted, he should say without hesitation that it contained transcripts of the original documents, not the originals themselves, and that this was indeed the case is made perfectly certain by the last sentence of the W. A. Jessey Records, evidently appended by Stinton himself to the copy of the document he had been making as a suitable concluding remark,—"After this [the text of the covenant] followed several sheets containing ye Names of ye Members of ye said Congregation & ye time of their admission." In other words Stinton had copied the original through the covenant, but thought it unnecessary to transcribe the names that followed. This inference seems especially natural as Stinton was in a position which enabled him to consult the original documents, and not merely copies.

2. How perfectly did Mr. Keymer transcribe these copies of the original documents made by Benjamin

Stinton? In the main apparently with very great accuracy, but still there evidently were certain words, which he may not have been able to read, and which at any rate are omitted in the Gould manuscript*; there were also some words, usually names, that he slightly misread, and occasional letters, which he changed from capitals to small letters, or *vice versa*; but in spite of these comparatively insignificant defects the writer is certain that the transcript as a whole is not only trustworthy, but accurate in a minute degree. The old school-master has left us no merely modernized text, though he may occasionally have forgotten to retain the original spelling. Furthermore Stinton's own transcripts were without doubt more or less modernized, for in his day little, if any, attention was paid to individual peculiarities of spelling. Everyone spelled as he pleased. Therefore in this case also we may suppose that Stinton copied these documents *verbatim*, but not *literatim*.

One curious mistake the old school-master evidently made. Throughout the first twenty-one sections of the Gould Manuscript, but not later, one very frequently meets with the word "ware" for "were". This looks ancient, but as the word is found in the documents transcribed from printed books, where of course no such spelling is used, as well as in the W. A. Jessey Records and Kiffin Manuscript, and further as "ware" occurs in the heading to document "Numb: 12," which certainly was added by Stinton himself, the spelling "ware" in the Gould volume cannot well be referred back to a writer earlier than Stinton, but Stinton also in no original manuscript of his now known to the writer appears to use the word "ware", though he very frequently uses the old form of "e" for the first "e" in "were". Now this old form of "e", when poorly or hastily written, some-

* Some of these words and names may possibly have been omitted by Stinton himself in his transcript because of their illegibility, or the names may even have been omitted in the original documents, as having been forgotten by the writer.

what resembles an "a," and Mr. Keymer, while he was transcribing the first twenty-one sections of the Gould Manuscript, apparently mistook "were", when thus written, for "ware", but later, having, perceived that this old form of "e" was "e" and not "a", as he had at first supposed, he repeated the mistake no more, but always transcribed "were", whether the old form of "e" was employed, or the new. This view accounts for the spelling "were" occasionally occuring in the first twenty-one sections of the Gould Manuscript amid many instances of "ware", for Stinton sometimes wrote as we write it today, when it naturally caused Mr. Keymer no difficulty.

The really minute accuracy, however, with which the Gould Manuscript was transcribed in general, may be illustrated by the reference "2 Col. 2.12." found in "Numb: 2" (the Kiffin Manuscript) under the date 1640. Of course Mr. Keymer knew there was no II Colossians, but he retained the error. The Rev. George Gould in his introduction to "Open Communion and the Baptists of Norwich" . . . . corrected it. Crosby, however, printed the error†, and the Rev. John Lewis of Margate, in his "Brief History of the English Anabaptists," "a 2d. Edition prepared for the Press," 1741, in manuscript, stars this reference and remarks in the margin, "a blunder, I suppose, of the press." In passing, however, it is to be noticed that the Kiffin Manuscript used by Crosby, and that before the old school-master, agree absolutely in this incorrect reference. Mr. Gould in his published work evidently corrected insignificant imperfections in the manuscript, but the school-master seems to have made no intentional corrections or additions to the text before him.

3. If Mr. Keymer added nothing to the text, who probably originally wrote in "Numb: 2" (the Kiffin Manuscript) the epoch-making words, "none haveing then [1640] so so [*sic*] practiced [dipping] in England to professed Believers"? Certainly not Crosby, and Crosby

† Vol. I, p. 102.

merely followed Stinton, so far as can be judged from an hitherto unpublished section of the green quarto, *B*, in the Gould Collection. But Crosby says that Stinton "did not live to digest in order even those [materials for "an History of the English Baptists"] he had collected, except the *Introduction*," and this doubtless accounts in part for the fact, that he made this mistake in regard to the use of immersion among the earliest English Baptists* in spite of his having collected sufficient material pointing to an entirely different conclusion. Crosby evidently never went much deeper into this matter than Stinton, with the results that an error, which it has taken half a century of criticism to remove and explain, crept into Baptist history. Crosby seems to have omitted as much as possible of Stinton's work that would have tended to bring any uncertainty into the reader's mind, and this is doubtless the reason why he omits the previously mentioned section; for one can easily see, that while Stinton here makes one or two strong statements, he has nevertheless not thought the problem really through. The passage reads:—† "This Man [John Smyth] is by Some of ye Zealous writers against the Anabaptists called ye beginer of Baptism by Dipping, & the Captain of that & other Errors. [Note.—"Walls plain discovery, &c pref. & p 44."] & they affirm that from him ye English Anabaptists have Successively received their New Aministration of Baptism, But this must be a very great mistake, nothing is more evident in History than that there were many who rejected ye Baptism of Infants long before this Man: several of whom were put to death both in England & other parts, & some for the very Crime

* The English Baptists, as we know them, are not directly descended so to speak, from foreign Anabaptists, but are rather an outgrowth of Brownism, and had their rise in 1609. Not until about thirty-one or two years later, however did they begin to practice immersion.

† Stinson MS. *B.* "An Account" . . . pp. 3, 4. This section should have followed the list of John Smyth's works given in Crosby, Vol. 1, p. 268.

of Dipping also: Tis probable indeed yt he was ye first from among the English Brownists yt ever Embrased ye Opinion of Antipædobaptism: & in the History of that People, when mention is made of one Sort of Brownists that deny ye Baptism of Infants & separated from ye other who retained it [note. Hereseo. p. 87.], it seems to referre to this Smith & his followers: Sr. Ino Floyer also observes that ye Practice of Immersion was vniversally left of in England about ye beginning of K. Iames ye 1st. so that he might be ye first yt revived that manner of administration among ye English in those times:"

Thus it appears that Benjamin Stinton also could hardly have written the clause in the Kiffin Manuscript to which reference has been made, and if neither Crosby nor he could have written it, it must have been the work either of William Kiffin himself, or of Richard Adams, (who was pastor of the same church of which Kiffin had formerly been pastor, and to whose care some of Kiffin's papers had evidently been intrusted,) a man who lived to a great age and who, in order to make clear to a later generation a fact that was all but lost, might possibly have inserted the words in question. The writer, however, inclines to the view that these words were a part of the original document, but if they were not it would make no real difference, for Richard Adams would be an authority quite as much to be trusted as William Kiffin.

4. Is there longer any hope that the original Stinton "Repository", *D*, will be found? Certainly. It must be in existence somewhere, very probably in some old Baptist family or College library, and diligent search should be made to locate the volume. It will doubtless be found to be a small quarto, very likely in its original binding and containing about two hundred or more pages of manuscript written in two different hands. The title-page will bear no author's name, but the following title,— "A REPOSITORY of Divers Historical Matters relating to the English Antipedobaptists. Collected from Original Papers or Faithful Extracts. Anno 1712."

Before concluding these remarks it will be well to note the important bearing the discovery of these four Stinton manuscripts (in this number is included the Gould copy) has on a thorough understanding of English Baptist history. At last after the lapse of nearly two hundred years, we are beginning to get a glimpse of the lights and shades of this history, to look upon these early writers as not infallible, and persistently to endeavor to get back of them to the sources in order to try every statement of importance at the bar of criticism. To be sure results are not always flattering to the correctness of preconceived views, but after all the truth is approximated, if not completely reached, and it is truth, not fable, or tradition, which Baptists have ever sought. Some supposed facts in this way may disappear, but what remains will have the priceless value of truth.

The discovery of these four manuscripts makes Crosby's "History of the English Baptists" a new book, but possibly, though not necessarily, takes away some of its lustre. We can now definitely locate in these Stinton manuscripts perhaps one-third, or even one-half of the contents of Crosby's four volumes excluding the Appendices, and thus we can approximately determine the proportion of the work done by him and that done by Benjamin Stinton. Further by an examination of these manuscripts, we are the better enabled to appreciate Crosby's modest remark* that "Had the ingenious collector [Benjamin Stinton] of them ["the materials, of which a great part of this treatise is formed"] lived to digest them in their proper order, according to his design, they would have appeared much more beautiful and correct than now they do." Crosby, however, evidently did his best, and when we rightly estimate the work which he accomplished, we cannot but do him honor. The fair and generous spirit that he shows throughout these four volumes must make his work a model in that respect at least for any further English Baptist history,

* Vol. 1, p. 1.

which though it may settle some problems he left untouched or unsolved, yet can hardly hope to surpass his work in fairness and conscientiousness of aim.

As a complete list of the various documents contained in the Gould Manuscript has never yet appeared in print (the writer believes), and as there may be those who would be interestd in such a list, the following extended description of the contents of the Gould Manuscript has been prepared.

The Contents of the Gould Manuscript:

or

of the Rev. George Gould's

"NOTICES OF THE EARLY [ENGLISH] BAPTISTS."

[Title stamped on the back of the MS.]

[First Main Division.]*

A REPOSITORY of Divers Historical Matters relating | to the English Antipedobaptists. Collected from Original Papers | or Faithfull Extracts. | Anno 1712. | [By Benjamin Stinton.]

[The original volume, of which the preceding is the anonymous title, and from which all the material in the Gould MS. before the "Records of the Barkshire Association" was copied, was written by Stinton with ad-

* Throughout these pages all expressions in *brackets* are inserted by the *writer* for the sake of explanation or condensation.

ditions by Crosby. This volume Stinton elsewhere calls "ye Collection of Originals,"† and his "Collection of Historical Matters."]*

———————

[First item.]

I began to make this collection in Ian: 1710-11.

[So-called Jessey Records.]

Numb: 1. | The Records of an Antient Congregation of Dissenters | from wch many of ye Independ*a*nt & Baptist Churches in London | took their first rise: ex MSS of W. A. Iessey†† wch I recd. of Mr. Rich*a*rd Adams.

I began to make this collection in Ian: 1710-11.

———————

[So-called Kiffin Manuscript.]

Numb: 2. | An old MSS. giveing some Acco*tt* of those Baptists | who first formed themselves into distinct Congregations, or | Churches in London. found among certain Paper given me | by Mr. Adams. [This is merely a continuation of the W. A. Jessey Records introduced by a short, but probably somewhat independent summary of the events described in the Records.]

———————

Numb: 3 | The confession of Faith of Those Churches wch are | comonly (though falsly) called Anabaptists. | Subscribed by them in ye behalfe of Seven Congregations or | Churches of Christ in London.

[Text not given.]

———————

Numb: 4. | An Account of divers Conferances, held in ye Congre- | gation of wch Mr. Henry Iessey was Pastor, about Infant- | baptism, by wch Mr. H. Iessey & ye greatest part of that Congregation ware proselited to ye Opinion & Practice of ye Antipedobaptists. | being an old M. S. S. wch I recd of Mr. Adams, supposed | to be written by Mr. Iessey, or transcribed from his Iurnal.

† In "An Account" . . . *B*, p. 11. Gould collection.

* In "A Iournal of the Affairs of ye Antipædobaptists," . . . *C*, p. 29. Angus collection.

†† W. A. Jessey is not to be confounded with Henry Jessey.

Numb: 5. | The Oath taken by Midwives when they ware | allowed in case of Necessity to Administer Baptism.

———————

Numb: 6. | The Abjuration taken of 4 Dutch Anabaptists | in y[e] Reign of Q. Elizabeth.

———————

Numb: 7: | A Copie rightly related of An Anabaptists | Letter written to his sometimes Accounted Christian | Brethren showing ye Cause of his Seperation from ye Church | of England, indited by a Principle Elder in & of that | Seperation.

[In the margin.] from a Treatise | intituled Anabap- | tismes Mysterie | of Iniquity un- | masked, by I. P. | Anno 1623.

[The signature of the letter is given "H. H."]

———————

Numb: 8. | Two Orders of ye Parliament of ye Comon Wealth | of England, Scotland & Ireland concerning | the Anabaptists. | Tombess Reven [Review]. pt 3d dedication.

———————

Numb: 9. | The Copy of A Letter written by ye Revd Dr. Barlow | afterwards Lord Bishop of Lincoln to Mr. Ino Tombs. Anno. 1636.

———————

Numb: 10. | An Account of ye Sufferings of Mr. Laurence Clarkson | for Anabaptism, in ye Year 1645, & his recantation of ye Same. | taken out of Mr. Edwards Gangraena, pg. 72.

———————

Numb: 11. | A Collection of ye Opinions of ye Old Lollards, New | Reformers & Anabaptists, complained of By ye Convocation in | the Reign of Henry ye 8th. wth ye Articles of Religion agreed upon | & published by ye Kings Authority in opposition to ye Same. | Ex. Fullers Church History, Lib. 5. Sec. 3d, pg. 208.

Numb: 12. | Dr. Burnets Account of ye Anabaptists yt lived in ye Reign of | Edward the Sixth, & of ye Punishments yt ware then Inflicted upon some of | them, particularly of ye Burning of Ioan of Kent, an Englishwoman, | & George Van Parre, a Dutchman. | His: Refor: Vol 2d part 2d pg 110. 111. 112. 113.

———————

Numb: 13. | Mr. John Fox's Letter to Q: Elizabeth in Faviour of two | Dutch Anabaptists condemned to be burnt in Smithfield. | Ex Fullers Church Hist: Cent 16. pg. 104.

———————

Numb: 14. | The Address of ye Anabaptists to King Charles IId before | his Restoration wth their Proposition annexed to it, & the Let- | ter sent along with it to his Majesty then at Bruges in ye Year | 1658. Ex. Lord Clarendons His. Rebellion. Vol. 3. p. 625. | Fo. Edit: 1719. Vo. 3. p. 359.

———————

Numb: 15. | Two Apologys of ye People called Anabaptists, | published presently after ye Insurrection of Venner & his Accomplacies. | wherein they protest both against ye Principles & Practices of | that Rebellious Party. Anno 1660. | ex Granthams Chris: Prin: [Christianismus Primitivus]: Lib 2. pg. 7.

[Text not given.]

———————

Numb: 16. | Mr. Fuller's account of ye Begining of ye Anabaptists | in England: wth a discovery of his Mistake therein. | from his Church His: Book 5. pg. 229.

———————

Numb: 17. | Mr. Hutchinsons Account of ye Revival of Antipædobaptism | towards ye latter end of the Reign of King Charles ye First.

———————

Numb: 18. | An Account [by "Mr. Francis Bampfield"] of ye Methods taken by ye Baptists to obtain | a proper Administrator of Baptism by Immersion, when

that | practice had been so long disused, yt there was no one who had been so | baptised to be found. wth ye Opinion of Henry Lawrence, | Lord President, on ye Case.

———————

Numb: 19. | A brief Account of the Sufferings of ye People called | Anabaptis [sic], in & about London, in ye two first Years after | ye Restoration of King Charles IId. Anno 1661, 1662.

———————

Numb: 20. | Several Antipaedobaptists taken up for Preaching against | ye Act of Uniformity made ye 35. Eliz, & against ye Kings Supremacy | in Ecclesiastical Matters. Ex Fullers Au:: Hist: Book 11. pg. 172.

———————

Numb: 21. | The Tryall of Mr. Benja: Keach who was prosecuted | for Wrighting against Infant Baptism &c, with an Account of ye | Punishment inflicted on him for ye Same. Anno 1664. | Taken from a Manuscript found among Mr. Keachs Papers after his Death, | which as he informed me when alive [Benjamin Stinton married a daughter of Benjamin Keach and so obtained first-hand information] was sent him from one in yt Country | who was present both at his tryall & Punishment, & took what passed in | Wrighting.

———————

Numb: 22. | An Address of ye Baptist Ministers in & about the | City of London, presented to his Majesty Kink William 3rd. | upon ye French Kings proclaming ye Pretended Prince of Wales, | King of England, &c. from ye London Gazette of Decemr 29th. 1701. | Hampton Court Decm 27. The following Address from ye Baptist | Ministers in & about ye City of London was presented to his Majesty by Mr. Stanet [Mr. Stennett]. | introduced by ye Rt: Hon. ye Earl of Peterborough.

———————

Numb: 23. | An Account of a Church that usually met in | Southwark near St. Mary Overys Church, consisting

partly | of Paedobaptists, & party of Antipaedobaptists, from their first Con- | stitution in ye Reign of K. Iames 1, to their Dissolution in 1705. | taken out of their Church Book, &c. [Supposed to be written by "old Mr. Webb."]

———————

Numb: 24. | An Acco*tt* of 12 Anabaptists who were Sentanced | to dye at Ailesbury for their Nonconformity in 1669.

[At end—"This relation I received from M*rs* Bowles, daughter to Mary Iackman ye Widd yt was condemn'd according to ye best of her Rem[em]berance, Apr: 10, 1715."]

———————

Numb: 25. | A Letter from ye Baptist's Church at Waterford, | in Ireland, to some of ye Same Perswasion at Dublin to disswade | them from haveing Comunion wth Persons not regularly Baptized.

———————

Numb: 26. | A Letter from Pensilvania giveing an Account of ye State | & Number of ye Baptized Churches in that Province in the Year 1715. | Philad: Aug. 13, 1714.

[There must be some mistake in this second date. The letter is signed "Abell Morgan," and dated, "Philad: July 20. 1715." Crosby's interpretation of the meaning of this second date may be seen in Vol. I, p. 122. "Mr. B. Stinton of London" is mentioned in this letter.]

———————

Numb: 27. | A Confession of ye Faith of Several Churches | of Christ, in ye County of Somerset, & Some Churches | in ye Countyes neer adjacent. | ..... | London ..... 1656.

[The whole title but not the text is given in the Gould MS.]

———————

Numb: 28. | Part of a Narrative & Complaint, that by ye help of an | Honourable Parliament Man was presented to ye King ye 26 of | ye 5th Month, Iuly 1660. wth the Kings Answer thereunto.

Numb: 29. | Some Parts of A Confession of Faith published by Certain | Persons term'd Anabaptists about 1611.

———————

Numb: 30. | Two Sad Instances of the Persecution practiced by the | Protestants themselves in the Reign of King Edward ye 6th, | against ye Anabaptists met with in Fox's Latin Book of Martyrs, | but left out in his English, out of a tender regard, it is supposed, to the | Reputation of the Martyrs in Q. Maries Reign; translated by Mr. Peirce, | in his Answer to Nichols, pg 33, wth Mr. Peirces remarkes on ye same.

———————

[These preceding thirty sections evidently constituted Stinton's "Repository,"..or "Collection of Originals." To these, however, Crosby added a few pages giving the titles of various early Baptist books with citations from them, and one letter, signed "Benjn Miller," and dated "Downton, Jany. 14, 1737-8." The letter is preceded by these words: "The Copy of a letter which I [i. e. Thomas Crosby] received from Mr. Randall, | and was sent to him from a Country Gent." This is an answer to a letter from Mr. Randall evidently requesting information concerning the early General Baptists in Somerset and Dorset to be inserted in "Mr. Crosbys History of the Baptists sufferings." Crosby printed a considerable part of this letter in Vol. III, pp. 121-4 and 126.]

[Second Main Division.]

[We now come to the second main division of the Gould volume, and have to deal with a manuscript that probably neither Benjamin Stinton nor Thomas Crosby ever saw, though the Gould Manuscript gives no direct evidence that it was not a part of what precedes. The original, discovered by the writer in the Gould Collection, is a thin folio volume, bound in limp vellum. It has no title, but the old school-master in his transcript fortunately has indi-

cated it by the words "Records of the Barkshire Association." It contains records back as far as "octob: 1652" and the latest record is of a "Meeting at Abingdon the Twenty third day of September 1708." About thirty-five pages of records, evidently not the earliest, have been torn out of the original, but that must have been done many year ago, probably before 1700. Between the year 1659, and the year 1705, meetings cannot have been held very regularly at best, and of the meetings that were held no account remains. The later records seem to have been written by Thomas Barfote, "Messenger from Witney." The name of "Jos. Stennett," also, is on the fly leaf of the original under the date "1747." The contents of this thin folio makes in the Gould valume about thirty-five closely-written pages, and with this material the Gould Manuscript practically ends. But from the single note appended in the Rev. George Gould's own hand concerning William Turner's "A Preservative or triacle, agaynst the poyson of Pelagius ..... 1551," we may infer that Mr. Gould was intending to gather into his volume of transcripts all the information of special interest concerning the early English Baptists that came to his knowledge. It was an excellent idea, and if the Baptists of today have a greater insight into their own history than they have had since Stinton's day, it is to the Rev. George Gould of Norwich that they are first indebted for preserving the at present only known first-hand transcript of this valuable Stinton Manuscript.]

Cambridge, England, March 15, 1905.

THE SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE IN FRANCE.

BY JEAN CHARLEMAGNE BRACQ, LITT. D., PROFESSOR OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES IN VASSAR COLLEGE.

The great religious conflict now going on in the land of Calvin and Voltaire is far from new; it is the culmination of a movement which has lasted centuries, whereby France has endeavored to enfranchise herself from clerical domination. Even Saint Louis, Philip the Fair and other devout kings took part in this work of liberation. If the Huguenots fought for pure religion they also aimed to lessen the political hold of the Church upon the country. If the philosophers of the eighteenth century contended for the supremacy of human reason, demanded its freedom, they also aimed to relieve political institutions from theoratic sway. The Liberals of the nineteenth century, ever asserting the non-religious character of the State, did their utmost to oust the Catholic clergy from all privileges not strictly religious, and to free the State from all sacerdotal interference. During the last few years the question has been taken up again by the anti-Clericals who, as a whole, wish to compel the Church to become simply a religious body. Obeying a principle of social differentiation which tends to prevail everywhere she must cease to be a political power to become exclusively religious. The people have a brief formula to express their ideal in their own way, "The priest in his church," whereby they mean, let the priest attend to his church and to that only. Had the clergy of France heeded this national wish the question of separation would not at this time have been forced upon the country. Now that the Chamber of Deputies has voted it, and the Senate will soon endorse the decisions of the lower house, it is worth while to study the positions of the two parties, their character, their ideals and their

probable relations after the divorce of Church and State has been consummated.

The most important factor, on the Church side, is a body of two hundred thousand persons, living professionally in a state of celibacy, who claim divine right to the intellectual, moral and religious guidance of the nation. An association of celibatists, regardless of its profession, will always be difficult to manage. As a rule, it will be narrow, irritable, dogmatic and doctrinaire. It will be in society like an infusible crystal rather than like a healthy member of an organism. If it has a long history it will have the characteristics of a caste in which the ruling ideas are those of the older members in whose hands resides the authority. Thus a Cardinal Richard of Paris can always reduce to silence a brilliant and modest young scholar like Abbé Loisy, and a Bishop Rumeau can always seal the lips and break the pen of a learned young priest like Abbé Houtin, not by good reasons, but by a mere command. In addition to the celibacy of the members of this body, and the prevalence of the senescent spirit among them there is the further fact that they speak for God, they are his substitutes, his lieutenants, and as such are accustomed to be obeyed by every one about them. Obedience to the Church, which is the law of their conduct, seems to them the law for all. They would bend the neck of every human being under the yoke which is to them divine. They cannot see the reason why non-Catholics reject their claims. Untaught in the noble art of reasoning from facts, they pass judgments upon questions in which they only distantly touch the points at issue. A man who opposes them—even in secular matters—opposes the Church, opposes religion and opposes God. In this way the least attack against a political privilege long enjoyed by the clergy becomes a virtual war on religion. It is easy to see that men and women with such psychological traits will view an energetic movement of opposition as a stupendous persecution.

Over this whole body, organized like the most perfect army, are the bishops. By the celebrated treaty between Pius VII. and Napoleon I., known as the Concordat, they are State officials; but by their spiritual office, they claim divine authority over the people of France. While the Pope reserved to himself certain prerogatives in dealing with the French Episcopate, Napoleon could deal with them as if they were army officers. They might not leave their diocese without the permission of the government. They were forbidden to assemble of their own accord, to take any form of collective action or to interfere in any way with politics. Above all there was a pledge of loyalty to the government. They have taken strange liberties with this compact, and during the last few years they who were to abstain from politics have been the prime movers in the clerical opposition. Outside of the political sphere they have exhibited a spirit which has aroused all independent thinkers against them. When Littré, a man as remarkable for his scholarship as for the signal beauty of his life, was received in the French Academy, Bishop Dupanloup haughtily left that assembly because the new member was a Positivist, and above all an Evolutionist. When the philosophers and scientists ventured to criticize Catholic tenets bearing upon philosophical speculations or scientific facts they were either disdainfully ignored by the bishops or were met by rhetorical generalities which excited contempt. At times they so lost the sense of reality as to become ridiculous. When Jules Simon abolished, in the secondary schools, the writing of dumb Latin verses, a reform demanded by every progressive educator, Bishop Dupanloup published a letter in which he represented fathers in tears, asking in great distress what was to become of France. The consequence of their attitude was that they lost the respect of many of their followers, and called forth all possible antagonism from their opponents.

Among the causes which have profoundly affected the

present situation are the acts of the Pope. The Sovereign Pontiff has lost, in French eyes, the mystical halo of former days. The railroad, the telegraph, the telephone and the newspaper have brought him nearer, and pontifical fictions tend to disappear. The papal election is no longer viewed as a divine selection, for the Pope is an Italian, chosen by Italians who have the majority in the sacred college. Even this majority is not absolutely free in its choice, inasmuch as, at the last hour, Austria vetoed the possible election of Cardinal Rampolla on the ground of his friendliness to France. Hence for many Frenchmen the Pope is not only a foreigner, but one elected to office by an act unfriendly to their country. He is the general-in-chief of the clergy. He finds his loudest supporters among the French noblemen, drawn to clericalism more by class interests and by their social affinities than by their religious loyalty. There are also with them those who formerly considered the altar as the best support of the throne and now view it as the best prop of plutocracy. On this side are also the Militarists and the anti-Semites. There are, indeed, some eminent thinkers among them, but their greatest strength comes from people who have but little education. As a whole the supporters of the clergy sympathize with their theocratic ideals, have a similar violent and aggressive spirit, repeat their stereotyped accusations against modern education, modern culture and modern science, are opposed to liberal reforms when the Church is materially affected by them and consider any movement in the direction of secularization as impious and sacrilegious. It is not astonishing that they should have called forth tremendous forces of antagonism from the anti-Clericals.

The anti-Clerical party has also in its ranks men of an extreme temperament who pretend to be the custodians of reason, the defenders of science and the representatives of progress, whereby they simply mean that they are agnostic and irreligious. Some of the lodges of Free

Masons are as intolerant as the Orders. Still on this side are the vital, progressive and constructive forces of the country. Its adherents are friendly to independent thought, to scientific research, to liberal education, to gradual reform and to evolution. The scientists are mostly anti-Clericals. The one hundred and sixty thousand teachers of the land are the greatest force of resistance against the efforts of sacerdotalism. The unjust and unscrupulous attacks of the clergy have made them bitterly hostile and not infrequently irreligious. They describe the priests as "formidable and tenebrous," as "deceiving the masses" and in kindred terms. Were the manufacturers, the business men and the farmers divided into two classes, the larger one would be found with the opponents of the clergy. The Socialists are the most uncompromising anti-Clericals of the land. In the Chamber of Deputies, Buisson, de Pressensé, Jaurés, Bourgeois, Brisson, Doumer, Delcassé, Trouillot, Hubbard, Millerand and Briand constitute an anti-Clerical group which in ability, statesmanship and popularity cannot be equalled by the twenty-five barons, dukes and counts of the other side, even including Count de Mun, Abbé Lemire and Denys Cochin. The same is true of the Senate. A study of the geographical distribution of anti-Clericalism shows that is has taken possession of the most educated and the most advanced sections of the country. The preponderance of strength and the determination to use it are on this side. Right or wrong, the anti-Clericals view the State Church as a source of constant perturbation and for some years they have been decided to put an end to it. Combes and Rouvier have only obeyed this tremendous power. Upon no national issue is there so much unanimity as upon the necessity of separation.

It must be borne in mind that a great change has taken place since the early days of the present republic. The anti-Clericals are now where the Clericals were then. Had they, in the days of their power, served the highest

interests of the country they would not have lost all political and moral credit. At one time every public official from the President of the Republic to the least village constable was under their control. Instead of helping the country to recover from her recent disasters, they endeavored to foment a war with Italy to regain the temporal power of the Pope, and one of the bishops advocated the project before the National Assembly. They carried on a most strenuous agitation to restore the old monarchical régime, and regain every privilege lost by and since the French Revolution. Every official had to be as zealous in the cause advocated by the Church as a Tammany devotee has to be to his. The bishops not only used all their influence with the Minister of Education against liberal professors, but branded them as "public poinsoners." The Episcopate exercised a virtual control of education. In the common schools the Catholic catechism was the prominent book, and woe to the teacher who did not display religious zeal. Most severe measures were voted against any association which "would tend toward the abolition of religion," whereby was meant any opposition to Catholicism. Free-thinkers labored under great disabilities. They could not open schools, because a school without religious instruction was not allowed. Priests were *de facto* members of the boards of local charities. A law preventing priests who had left the Church from marrying was strictly enforced. The great pulpit orator, Father Hyacinthe, was not allowed to open a church, or even to preach, in Paris. Non-Catholic soldiers, Protestants, Jews and Free-thinkers, were compelled by their superiors, on some occasions, to attend the Catholic Church and to kneel before the altar at the command of their officers. An extensive and expensive system of chaplains was organized to bring the soldiers under their subjection. The civil funerals of Free-thinkers were practically not allowed in day time. They could take place no later than seven o'clock in the morning. Protestants, entitled by law to an honorable

burial, were relegated by the clergy to the *coin maudit,* or cursed corner, reserved for those who had committed suicide. Protestant chapels were closed under the pretext that speakers had attacked the Catholic Church. Protestant workers were brought before tribunals for holding meetings. The writer knew a Protestant missionary who was taken to the court of Draguinan, then to that of Aix, and finally to that of Nimes by a Catholic attorney bent on his condemnation for holding Protestant services. The circulation of Protestant books was opposed in a most vexatious manner. The popular publication, the "*Almanach des bons conseils,*" had all passages referring to the errors of Catholicism removed by official censors. The Clericals did not conceal their unfriendliness to common law in religious matters. The majority of the National Assembly, which was Catholic, refused to vote a law of religious liberty for all. Bishop Dupanloup said that such a law would be subversive. They were on the side of liberty only when they opposed the bill on compulsory education. By their intolerance, their tactless aggressiveness and their unconcealed aims, they aroused the intelligence, the conscience and the patriotism of the country against them. The elections of February 22d, 1876, were the eloquent condemnation of the Clericals.

The Republicans had hitherto taken merely a defensive stand, now they assumed the offensive. A most active campaign was inaugurated—the Republicans had now freedom of speech—against the Orders and their friends. Gambetta was as indefatigable as he was eloquent. He gave some popular political mottoes such as "Clericalism is the enemy," and Paul Bert summed up the Republican program in the words, "Peace to the priest and war upon the monk." Jules Ferry, aiming to avert the peril to which Gambetta had given expression and Bert the formula of action, took steps which, in 1880, resulted in the expulsion of the Jesuits. The mortmain property of the Orders, which by its very nature paid no in-

heritance tax was forced by law to pay sufficiently every year to make taxation alike for property held by a monk or a layman. During the following year prayers on the occasion of the opening of Parliament were omitted. The friars and nuns, who had hitherto been allowed to teach without a diploma while common school teachers were not, were subjected to the same requirement. The teaching of the Roman Catholic catechism in the common schools was prohibited. In its place was substituted instruction in morals. Non-Catholic patients had been harshly treated by some of the nuns in the hospitals; the Parliament after extensive investigations, which more than sustained the charges, replaced the nuns by nurses. The bishops were excluded by Jules Ferry from the Superior Council of Public Instruction. The six faculties of Catholic theology supported by the State were closed, not through the opposition of the anti-Clericals, but because the bishops, suspecting the character of the theology taught, preferred to keep their students in their seminaries where they were absolutely under their influence. As a matter of fact the bishops, and not the anti-Clericals, gave the death blow to these faculties, but their closure was considered as another victory for the opponents of Rome. The Catholic and Protestant theological students were, like other Frenchmen, drafted for military service though for a shorter time. Religious processions were prohibited in many communities where a large number of inhabitants were opposed to them. The crucifixes over the entrances of cemeteries, in the schools or in the court houses were ordered to be removed. There was not one of these reforms, however just, which was not opposed by the Clerical party and viewed as a sacrilegious assault upon Church rights. The fanaticism shown by some of the monks during the Dreyfus trial called attention to the dangerous extention of monasticism. Waldeck-Rousseau proposed a law of association so framed that it would strike some of the most turbulent Orders. M. Combes,

his successor, went much further. He not only gave this law a severer application than that contemplated in Parliament, but also led his followers to vote a bill excluding religious Orders from teaching. In their praiseworthy endeavors to place the Catholic Church upon an equal footing with other institutions, the anti-Clericals were bound to bring about the separation of Church and State. The Vatican unintentionally precipitated its consummation.

Had Leo XIII. lived to the present day he would have done much to avert what he considered a calamity. His task would have been arduous. The Vatican had so signally failed to meet the obligations of the Concordat that any attempt to return to its loyal execution would simply have revealed the extent to which its terms had been disregarded. Indeed, one is astonished at the unscrupulousness of some of the agents of the Papal court in evading its stipulations. In the case of a vacant bishopric the French government has the right to nominate an incumbent who then receives a bull of investiture from Rome. Now, in the most stealthy manner, the officials of the Vatican inserted in the bull of investiture the Latin word *nobis* which changed the whole character of the Franco-Papal relations. By writing the bull as it has been written for nearly a century, it is the President of the Republic that makes the appointment; with the insertion of *nobis* it is the Pope. When this stratagem was discovered the government declined to accept the letters of investiture. Both sides showed considerable tenaciousness. Two dioceses remained without a bishop for some time, but at last the Pope had to surrender the *nobis*, suffering a considerable loss of moral prestige. This incident was no sooner settled than the relations with the Vatican came to the breaking up point. Among the recent occurrences most popular in France was the reconciliation with Italy. The anti-Clericals have always sustained in the warmest manner the aspirations of the Italians for national unity. They rejoiced when the King

of Italy visited Paris, and when, later, M. Loubet went to Rome. All were glad that the mistrust cultivated between the two peoples by Bismark and by Crispi was at an end, when came the news of the letter of protestation of the Pope sent to all the Catholic governments of the world on account of that visit. The anti-Clericals, with their usual fervor, were soon up in arms. They insisted that Catholicism was not only the storm center of the political life of France, but also of her relations abroad. Public opinion was such that M. Delcassé was compelled to recall at once M. Nisard, the French ambassador at the Vatican. A new incident soon after had even more serious consequences.

The hostility of the bishops toward the government, to which we have referred, was not without exceptions. Several of the eighty-four prelates of the country avoided signing a violent protest against those in power which two years ago created a great commotion. Their moderation seemed to cast reflection upon the course followed by their peers. Their attitude pleased the Republicans, but had the contrary effect upon Clericals. The whole body of celibatists was against them. In two dioceses a regular boycott was organized against the bishops. Their antagonists did not shrink from making the most serious charges against them in Rome. They were summoned thither to justify themselves, but when they failed to go, threatening letters were sent and a virtual deposition of the bishops took place. This action, just from the point of view of ecclesiastical discipline, was contrary to the terms of the Concordat; for, if the Pope cannot nominate a bishop to office he cannot depose one without a previous agreement with the government. This again led to remonstrances by M. Delcassé. He and his colleagues felt that the action of the Vatican had been determined much more by the liberalism of the bishops than by their moral or ecclesiastical deviations. When he failed to obtain immediate satisfaction from Cardinal Merry del Val the strained relations were broken. The

French embassy to the Vatican was closed, and the nuncio in Paris was informed that his diplomatic functions were ended. This was the virtual rupture of the Concordat. Thus the irresistible movement of secularizing democracy and Catholicism, by its chief in Rome as well as by its clergy at home, had brought the French people face to face with the separation of Church and State, an event which was the culmination of a long history.

The issue between the two sides has never been religion itself but a question of political justice. It is not fair for a man to be compelled to support a religion in which he does not believe. Furthermore, there was a feeling that the Church should cease to be a state within the State paid by the State. While anti-Clericals are suspicious of her motives and questions the nature of much of her influence they, as a whole, desire that the Church may continue to enjoy the essential liberties of religious bodies, liberty to assemble, liberty to pray, liberty to teach religion, and liberty to perform the necessary rites of Church life. Even with the most rigid enforcement of recent legislation, the Church may still have her primary schools, her secondary schools, her institutions of higher learning, as the *Institut Catholique* of Paris, and similar establishments in Lyons, Lille and other centers, only members of the Orders may not teach in those institutions. The Bill of Separation, as we shall see, does not indicate even an intolerant spirit. M. Combes has never been the persecutor represented by his opponents. At times he may have applied the law with needless severity but last year the writer still saw nuns as nurses in the *lycées*, a madonna over the door of a police station, and crucifixes in every room of the school-houses which he visited, these are certainly signs of great toleration. The acts of unpardonable brutality which took place in enforcing the Law of Association must be credited to the defenders of the Orders. The

repulsive treatment of public officials in Brittany was revolting. Compared with the course pursued by the Catholics under Napoleon III., or under President MacMahon, that of M. Combes was liberal and considerate. He did not stay in power long enough to carry out his plans of separation, but M. Rouvier has realized them.

The presentation of the Separation Bill took place in the early part of the year. The Clericals resorted to peculiar manœuvres to secure the postponement of the question, but in vain. The time had come to face the real issue, the abrogation of the Concordat, one of the most crying anachronisms of our own time. The debates reached a rare elevation. No parliament has ever had a question of this kind discussed more brilliantly and more eloquently. The fifty sessions devoted to this Bill will remain the most memorable of the French Parliament. Philosophy, science, theology, history, sociology, statistics, wit, humor and no little sarcasm were used unsparingly by both sides, though all the time the discussions remained within the domain of parliamentary courtesy. The best elements of the Opposition showed the deficiencies of the Bill, deficiencies which the Republicans recognized and made up. On July 4th the Bill was passed by 341 votes against 233. To become law it needs only the approval of the Senate which will most certainly be given. It now remains to examine the terms of the Bill in its present form—a Bill of which the French people already speak as a law.

The first article marks a new era in the history of religious freedom. When under the presidency of MacMahon, Dr. de Pressensé proposed a law sanctioning freedom of conscience the Bill was treated almost contemptuously. The clergy were indignant at the daring of the Protestant senator. The present Bill begins with the following words: "The Republic guarantees freedom of conscience." Then it asserts that the French government neither knows, salaries, nor subventions any religious body, exception being made in the case of chap-

lains in the colleges, hospitals, asylums and prisons. The moveable and immoveable property of the State Churches shall be transferred to the religious associations who have the care of the Churches after the Separation. Reasonable provisions are made for the present debts of some of the Churches. All endowments for general charities will go to the regular State charity organizations. In cases in which there are no religious associations the property will be devoted to the charities of the district. In all the transfers of property the State will not levy the usual tax. Clergymen over sixty years of age, and with over thirty years of ministry, will receive three-quarters of their salary; those forty-five years old, with twenty years of service, will be entitled to one-half. The clergymen in office not belonging to either of the preceding classes will receive full salary the first year, two-thirds of it during the second, one-half for the third, and one-third for the fourth year. In villages of less than 1,000 inhabitants all these periods will be doubled. Professors in the Protestant schools of theology will have considerate treatment. The cathedrals, churches, chapels, Protestant houses of worship and synagogues remain the property of the State, but they continue to be used without compensation by the Catholic, Protestant and Jewish associations. The archbishops and bishops may continue to use the State palaces for two years. The clergy may use their manses, the theological seminaries and the Protestant faculties of theology may remain in their present buildings for five years. Provisions have been made for the preservation of objects and buildings which present a peculiar historical or artistic interest. The archives and libraries, having documents and charts belonging to the State, will surrender them to the institutions to which they should properly belong. In the case of the sale of any object connected with religious buildings the churches will have a right to pre-emption. The religious associations must manage their affairs in a business-like way. They must publish annual financial

reports. The local religious associations may group themselves into unions. The church buildings remaining State property are free from taxes, the others are subject to common law. Any church of any religious body may be opened by a simple declaration to the authorities.

It was to be expected that there would be provisions made against possible abuses on the part of the Church. Political meetings in the churches are forbidden. Public processions and the ringing of the bells are left to the mayors. Religious emblems are not allowed upon public monuments, or public squares, but may be placed upon religious buildings, in cemeteries, in museums and expositions. Religious instruction cannot be given to children of the common schools during school hours. Threats to cause one to be discharged or any other threat on account of religion will be severely punished. A heavy penalty will be inflicted upon those who may disturb or interrupt any religious service. Outrage or diffamation of a public official from the pulpit will be severely repressed. Encouragement to resist the law of the country or to excite citizens against each other followed by effects make a preacher liable to two years imprisonment. Theological students are required to do only one year of military service instead of two like other citizens, and in case of war are to serve in the infirmary corps. During the eight years which will follow the enforcement of this law the ministers of religion cannot be members of municipal councils. The Concordat is abrogated. One sees from this synopsis that if the law lacks a certain continuity it does not lack liberalism. M. Briand, the defender of the Bill, calls it rightly "a liberal law." As a matter of fact it still recognizes privileges to the churches, but the objectionable features of State-churchism have been removed. It delivers France from the impossible Concordat, frees her from the obligation to sustain religious bodies, and from a politico-religious administration which generates constant friction and disturbing parliamentary interpellations. Absolute separa-

tion of Church and State exists only in few countries. Even the United States has kept something of the old régime. Why should property devoted to religious use be freed from taxes? Is not this a favor of the State toward church members which the non-religious do not enjoy? Is it not a breach of national equality?

The Separation will greatly affect the Clerical sociological body but that in a gradual way. The representatives of militant Catholicism will continue their abuses against a law which is obnoxious to them. These men will be re-elected by ignorant voters, but the more intelligent Catholics will more and more recognize the untenableness of the situation and the equity of the law. A new element has entered into the life of the country during the last third of a century, namely, popular education. During the last days of the Second Empire there were among the conscripts 30 per cent, who were illiterate, but now those who cannot write are only 4 per cent, and those unable to read are less than 1½ per cent. Illiteracy has ceased to be an ally of Clericalism. As to the Church, she will be freed from many evils inherent in her false position. Where the Separation merely to put an end to the indescribable intrigues which took place with the government for the nomination of bishops, that alone would prove a great gain. She will be released from innumerable accessaries which in the past have hindered her spiritual work. She will concentrate her energies upon the religious teaching of the young in the Church. She will do more to secure the co-operation of laymen in that work. Her active members brought together in common efforts will react in a healthy way upon the clergy. More will be done to bring back the churchless, the creedless and the Christless. It is not likely that the separation will materially affect their foreign missions. The mental activities of the clergy, which have been greatly accelerated during the last third of a century, will probably continue to be stimulated. Catholic theology will come closer to modern thought be-

cause it comes closer to modern life. It is quite probable that the two tendencies, the medieval and the modern, which are visible among her thinkers will be more pronounced, and that Catholic heresies will be more frequent. The bishops will still display their authority, but not sustained by the arm of the law. They themselves will be enfranchised from the service of two masters, the Minister of Worship and the Pope. The French embassy at the Vatican will probably remain closed, but, owing to the stupendous interests at stake, the French government will have to be, at least, as deferential to the Roman Pontiff as Kaiser Wilhelm, King Edward and President Roosevelt have been. The Pope will doubtless be grieved to lose his peculiar hold upon France which he was accustomed to call the eldest daughter of the Church, but the former political relations will be compensated by spiritual gains. His religious instructions will no longer have to be transmitted through political channels. His relations with the churches will be more direct and his touch with them closer.

Protestantism will be seriously disturbed by the Separation, though as a whole, Protestants do not fear it. The State-Church relations was not a matter of their choice. It was forced upon them by Napoleon I. After centuries of unparalleled persecutions, they were glad to have a recognized legal existence. A century of life in such relations has developed conditions which the Catholic Church would have prevented, but which among Protestants are the result of freedom of thought. The Protestants though one in name are seriously hampered by theological divisions. This led the Evangelicals to organize themselves, within the State-Church, so as to carry on their extensive works of all kinds. Their organization, with a fairly long experience, is adequate to meet the demands of the new situation. The Liberals, though less well organized, can face also the new issues. It is probable that later on there will be a union of all the forces of Protestantism for the defense of its general

interests. While the ecclesiastical autonomy will present many unexpected difficulties, it is not likely to interfere with their many educational interests, their philanthropic works, nor with their home and foreign missions. It is probable that the Evangelicals will support the faculty of theology of Montauban and the Liberals will stand by that of Paris. Theological students will not suffer for the lack of such institutions. One great gain will be that many skeptical pastors, no longer paid by the State, will cease to preach. Worship will be less formal, less artificial, more attractive. The churches will do more to hold their worshipers, not to speak of drawing new ones. The pastors will continue to give a large place to culture, but with a more direct view to spiritual utility. They will come closer to their parishioners upon whom they will depend. A more genuine and intense religious life will be generated.

The Separation which will be beneficent even for those who opposed it will not satisfy extreme men. Some Radicals there are who would have made the law a virtual expulsion of the clergy from its churches and institutions —would have surrounded them with such restrictions as to render their ministry impossible—would have goaded them to revolt or exalted them as martyrs. The extremes of Clericalism would not be satisfied short of national domination. There is fortunately in France a large part of the population gifted with much common sense and easily amenable to justice and equity. It is to this part of the population that the members of parliament will appeal to judge and sustain their work. There can be no doubt that the present law is a loyal attempt of the Republic to solve justly one of the most difficult problems of modern times—a problem, the legacy of centuries, which has frightened generations of loyal patriots. The solution is not ideal except in the sense that it is the only one possible in times of stress and storm. It was made in the spirit of concession on both sides, a spirit which has untied many gordian knots.

THE VALIDITY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT'S DISCERNMENT OF CHRIST IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

BY REV. JOHN B. ANDERSON, B. D., INSTRUCTOR IN THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF COLGATE UNIVERSITY.

The New Testament teaches that Christ and the Christian dispensation were predicted and foreshadowed in the Old Testament. It also teaches that Christ, the eternal Son of God, was personally present and active in Old Testament history. These two distinct phases of the New Testament doctrine concerning the presence of Christ in the Old Testament will be considered separately. For the purposes of this paper the Old Testament and the Old Testament history need not always be differentiated, and it will not be necessary in these pages to deal separately with prediction and type (for after all a type if viewed as being divinely designed is a species of prediction).

I.

Is it true that the Old Testament predicted and foreshadowed Christ and the Christian dispensation? In the eyes of the apostles the Old Testament fairly gleamed with Messianic meaning. To them Christ was the starlight of the Old as he is to us the sunlight of the New (Luke 24:25-27, 44-47. John 5:39, 46-47. Acts 3:18; 24:14; 28:23. 1. Peter 1:10-12). The following facts in connection with the life and person of Christ are referred to Old Testament statements by New Testament writers: His Forerunner (character, work, and sufferings), the First Advent, the virgin-birth, the weeping of the mothers in Bethlehem, the return from Egypt, the residence in Nazareth, Christ's removal to Capernaum and residence

there, his use of parables, the hypocrisy of the scribes and Pharisees, the moral blindness of many of his hearers, the Jews' unreasonable hatred of Christ, his zeal for the Temple, his healing the sick, his imposing secrecy upon some of those he healed, his riding on an ass into Jerusalem, his rejection by the unbelieving Jews, Judas at the Paschal Supper, Christ's betrayal and arrest with insult, being forsaken by his friends on the night of his betrayal, his sufferings and death, his crucifixion, his death on the charge of being a criminal, the parting of his garments among the soldiers, his thirsting and being offered vinegar to drink, the piercing of his side, the fact that no bone was broken, Judas selling Christ for thirty pieces of silver and the use of the money in buying the potter's field, the perdition of Judas, Christ's burial and its duration, the burial with the rich, his resurrection, his exaltation, the filling the place vacated by Judas, the preaching repentance and remission of sins in Christ's name to the whole world, the Paschal lamb a type of Christ, the sacrifice which Christ is offering in the heavens typified by the Old Testament sacrifices and his priesthood by the Jewish priesthood, Christ the great prophet, his Messiahship, Christ as Son of God, his Kingship and triumph over all his enemies, the New Covenant in Christ, the Law a shadow of things to come, Christ involved in the promise made to Abraham, the righteousness of Christ, Christ as Mediator between God and man, Christ as the Teacher from God, the receiving God's Spirit through faith in Christ, Christ sometimes identified with Jehovah, in general Christ in the Old Testament.

This New Testament Messianic use of the Old Testament is a large and complicated subject involving many questions, such as whether Christ's use of the Old Testament differed more or less radically from that of his apostles, and whether the apostolic interpretations of the Old Testament will bear the test of the modern historico-critical standards or whether the apostles and even Jesus himself were enmeshed in the tangles of a false rabbinical

method of using the ancient Scriptures. It should be carefully noted in this connection that the truth of the New Testament view does not depend upon the validity of its Old Testament exegesis. This exegesis might be quite unwarrantable and yet the instinct of the New Testament Christians be true in their believing that Christ had been both predicted and typified in the preparatory dispensation. Further, even if the New Testament had nothing to say about Old Testament predictions and types of Christ, we today might be justified, as the result of the scientific study of Old Testament Christology and Christian history, in affirming that Christ is predicted and prefigured in the Old Testament. Consequently the validity of the New Testament view of Christ in the Old Testament is not affected by any critical condemnation of the New Testament use of Old Testament passages. But of course when we come down from the broad conception to the minute details in which the New Testament writers see that conception realized, then a complete discussion of the validity of the New Testament view would require the consideration of each New Testament Messianic quotation from the Old Testament and of all together in the light of the history of interpretation in New Testament times. This indeed would then be the fundamental and most important inquiry in connection with our topic. But this essay will deal chiefly with the general thesis that Christ is predicted and typified in the Old Testament, and will therefore not use, though never for a moment undervalue, the microscopic method and will instead employ what may in contrast be called the telescopic method, looking at the phenomena in the mass, in their large, majestic proportions and as seen through the long perspective of Christian history. This way of looking at the matter before us has its rights and its value.

In the first place, the New Testament perceives in the Old Testament the religious principles and character of which Jesus was the only perfect embodiment. In respect to this point it is sufficient to say that this aspect of the

New Testament view commends itself to all except to those who, though their estimate of Christ is high, think but poorly of Old Testament religion.

In the second place, were the principal Old Testament institutions divinely intended not only to fill their own place in the life of the Hebrew people but also to be types, standing concrete predictions, of Christ and Christianity? It should be remembered at this point that the New Testament declares that the Old Testament writers and speakers did not foresee the Christ and Christianity precisely as they have appeared in history (Luke 10:23-24. 1. Peter 1:10-12). Furthermore there is not a shred of evidence in the Old Testament itself that the people in its era discerned in the Levitical institutions any reference to the Messiah. The New Testament conception, gathered inferentially from its pages, is this: In God's eyes the principal Old Testament institutions foreshadowed Christ and Christianity. They did this because God gave them such characteristics as fitted them so to do. And God proposed that when his final and perfect revelation in Christ should have been made, the divinely produced correspondence between the Old and the New should gloriously appear. The question to be studied therefore reduces to this: Did God purpose that the principal Hebrew institutions should prefigure Christ and Christianity? Did the Hebrew royal, sacrificial, and prophetic institutions foreshadow Christ and his religion?

First, then, did the Hebrew kings typify Christ as King and did the kigdom of Israel typify the kingdom of Christ? Israel was a theocracy, a political State of which God was the Founder, the Lawgiver, and the Sovereign. After the human kings arose, God was still the Overlord, the king being only God's representative, bound to execute God's will in the nation. It was frequently predicted and confidently expected among this little, obscure Hebrew people that in some way in the future this kingdom of God would include all the nations of the world within its dominion. And sometimes it was prophesied

that God would accomplish this astounding result by means of or in connection with a future ideal king of the house of David. From a human standpoint nothing could be more audacious or even preposterous than these expectations and predictions. It seems like national self-conceit of Himalyan magnitude.

But it is a sublime fact that a certain man named Jesus Christ is becoming the ruling spirit of human history, the King of the world in the loftiest sense, dominating its thought, gaining control over its ethical life, and winning to himself the affections and the allegiance of men, and thereby transforming human customs and institutions and changing the heart and the face of human society. His power is first moral and spiritual, then intellectual, social, and political. The time is coming when all political power will be held under moral allegiance to him, and in that sense he will be even the political King of the world. The rule of this King of the Ages is righteous, loving, spiritual; it is religious and godly; it is in the experience of men practically identified with the reign of God. Christ's kingship is practically God's kingship irrespective of one's theological conception of the person of Christ. Whether rightly or not, Christ is in fact the representative of God in this world. Judging on the lowest level, the logic of events makes Christ hold the same relation to God on the one side and to humanity on the other as was held by the Hebrew kings to God on the one side and to the Hebrew nation on the other. The ideal Hebrew king would have endeavored to execute God's will in and through the nation; the influence of Christ is increasingly bringing to pass the fulfillment of God's will in and through humanity. He has realized the ideal of Hebrew kingship.

Let us pause here to reflect upon the fact that it is strange and passing wonderful that there should ever arise in this world any man who should be so transcendently great as to become the shining Leader of the human race, absolutely incomparable, beyond the utmost reach

of all the other great ones of earth, easily and uniquely and eternally the Lord of the thousands of millions of his fellow-beings. One can believe anything good and high and august and divine about such a Being as that.

And this Lord of humanity, this King of men and of the ages was born a Hebrew and of the royal line of David from which it was hoped for centuries the glorious King would arise who should become the Head of God's universal kingdom. In view of this marvel, this wonderful historical vindication of the divinity of Old Testament history and prophecy, is it not credible that the Hebrew kingdom did by divine plan foreshadow the Christian kingdom and that the Hebrew kingship did typify the kingship of Christ?

We shall now move swiftly along another path to the same conclusion. The golden age of the Hebrews was in the future. Their hope lay in what was to come. The object of this hope was not always conceived of alike. In the course of their national life, however, the idea and hope of a perfect kingdom of God became more or less clearly defined, and also the expectation of a divinely empowered king over this kingdom reigning through this kingdom over all the nations of the earth.

Now it was inevitable that fervent religious men, men of mighty moral energy as were the Hebrew psalmists and prophets, at times glowing with the Messianic hope, should on special occasions of national gladness or gloom be carried away by their feelings and without intending any expression of their Messianic hope should speak of the then king in terms far beyond the literal truth as applied to him but which were really descriptive of the ideal king to whom the nation looked forward, and should in speaking of their nation under the spell of emotion use the language of hope rather than the language of fact and thus picture the ideal future kingdom rather than the actual present kingdom. How easy for men who were great poets, great patriots, and great men of God, under the inspiration of deep feeling thus to

speak of their king who to them was the anointed representative of the God of the whole earth, and thus also to speak of their nation which to them was not only their nation but still more God's nation, the chosen, the beloved, the Servant, the Son of God! In this way it is reasonable to think that some of the Messianic material in the Old Testament originated. Of course this is looking at the matter purely from a human standpoint.

Again, how those patriot-bards and teachers would delight in eager, rapturous contemplation of the future age of national glory, glory for their God and for themselves, especially when the nation was in adversity or was exultant over some signal victory in war or plenteous abundance in the time of peace, and sing and preach and intentionally predict concerning the glory that was to come of both king and kingdom when the people should be worthy to receive God's supreme gifts. In this way the seers of Israel uttered a vast amount of Messianic language.

Thus we have on the one hand a large quantity and wide variety of Old Testament Messianic language produced in the course of many centuries under all kinds of circumstances by many persons representing many classes of men. There is nothing comparable with it in all the other religions, histories, and literatures in the world. Though its forms are necessarily very diverse yet that part of its substance which was unconditioned is the same beneath all the forms, namely, the redemption of sinful men by divine power through the divine righteousness and love and the gathering of men thus redeemed into a kingdom of God. On the other hand (O! the wonder of it all) we behold the advancing realization of this age-long hope of the Hebrew saints in one of their own nation, sprung just as was predicted from their own royal line of David, and in ways far beyond all their power of conceiving establishing the kingdom of God in a world vastly larger than was dreamed of in their geography among myriad-millioned peoples of whom they had never

heard. This Being, Hebrew and Davidic according to the flesh, rules supreme over an empire of intelligence and righteousness and love which for nineteen ceturies has been marching on toward universal sovereignty—a sovereignty not only over the hearts of men, but also over the social and political life of mankind. And, we repeat, this sovereignty of Christ is virtually the sovereignty of God. It is also in a profound sense the sovereignty of the Hebrew people whose moral and religious influence is through Christ destined to become paramount among all the races and peoples and tribes of a greater world than loomed up in their dreams of world-wide supremacy. Though not the form, and in respect of national organisation and perfect bliss in Palestine not the substance, yet the loftiest moral and religious element of their hopes, their seemingly chimerical hopes, is being realized through the Son of David, Jesus Christ. The facts involved are so immense as to stagger the imagination; the mind reels before such historic magnitudes. It surely is but reasonable that the New Testament view that the old Hebrew kingdom of God, the Jewish theocracy, was a divinely-planned foreshadowing of the kingdom of Christ should be considered in the light of such facts as these.

Secondly, is it true that God intended that the Old Testament priests and sacrifices should prefigure Christ and his redemptive work? Besides being represented as real transactions between the divine King and his subjects of the Jewish theocracy and as accomplishing a real theocratic cleansing, the priesthood and sacrifices in the Old Testament, whatever our view of their place in Hebrew history, had no small part in the religious education of the Hebrews and thus in the preparation for Christianity. The sinfulness of man and the heinousness of sin, the righteousness and holiness of God, the barrier between God and man because of sin, the merciful initiative of a loving God in making forgiveness and goodness and welfare possible, the desire of God for un-

disturbed communion with man—these and other truths of profoundest significance, truths central in Christianity, were conspicuously diplayed by the sacrificial practices of the Old Testament and especially by the Levitical ritual. Whether divinely intended to be so or not, those practices and instructions were "shadows of things to come."

For whatever theory of the atonement a man may hold he, if a Christian, believes that Jesus Christ is transforming the life of the world by the power of his cross. He is cleansing the life of the world. More and more he is becoming in the experience of men the High Priest of the human race. He stands between man and God at least in the sense of interpreting God to man, and is in the belief of multitudes their mediator with God, their representative on high before the divine Majesty. What the Old Testament priesthood and sacrifices were to the Hebrews, Jesus Christ is becoming to the whole human race. His self-surrender to God, consummated in his death on the cross, has been progressively taking away the sin of the world and has made possible the world's acceptance of him as its mediator with God. And this man was an Israelite, a descendant of Old Testament Abraham to whom God promised that his seed should be a blessing to all the families of the earth. Of all the nations of the world it was this nation that gave him birth. Further, how wonderful that the very Being to whom the Hebrew seers looked forward as the great King is becoming in actual realization not only the King of the world, but also the Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world and the Highpriest in heaven of the human race.

"The Lord hath sworn and will not repent, Thou (Thou the King) art a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek," words spoken centuries before the advent of the world's priest-king, who was born in a manger, and reared as a carpenter in an obscure Jewish village whose fame was a notoriety for wickedness. These considerations tend to support the New Testament view.

Thirdly, is it true that the Old Testament prophets were typical of Jesus Christ? In considering this point we are again confronted by a sublime fact. One has arisen among men who is beyond all possible rivalry the Teacher from God, the Light of the world, the Prophet of humanity. And this prophet is in the line of historical succession of the Hebrew prophets! Further, the work of those prophets proved to be one long and vitally continuous preparation for his work. Looking at the matter from another standpoint we see that the prophets of the Old Testament were related to God on the one side and to men on the other much as Christ was in his earthly career. They were holy and religious men who represented God, not indeed as did the kings and priests, yet really represented him. They stood for him in many a wicked and adulterous generation, boldly declared his truth, often were persecuted and rejected by the people, and in some cases were put to death. Christ was more than they, but so far as their function went and their painful experiences in fulfilling it, his life was parallel with theirs. It was inevitable that their many careers should present points of resemblance to his, even in respect of specific features and events. And if we think of God as providentially designing these resemblances, we have at once the substance of the New Testament view of the prophets as types of Christ. Some indeed hold that the element of divine design is not essential to the idea of a type.

The New Testament not only sees Christ as the perfect embodiment of Old Testament principles and as the antitype of the principal Old Testament institutions, but also in the third place it regards him as the antitype of the Hebrew nation itself. Is this position valid? As a matter of fact the history of Israel has proved to be the preparation for Christianity, both in general and in some particular respects. Again, the history of Israel is the history of God's reign over a single nation; Christ's kingdom is God's reign over all the nations. And between the Hebrew kingdom and the Christian kingdom there is an

organic continuity, the former preparing for the latter and making the latter possible. We may well expect therefore that the history of Israel could and did by divine purpose foreshadow Christ and his kingdom as the history of Egypt, of Assyria, of Babylonia, of Persia, of Greece, and of Rome could not and did not. Israel was a type of Christ because the God who was peculiarly in Christ was peculiarly in Israel, the God who was in Christ was the divine force at work in Hebrew history, working amid comparatively low conditions with generally crude means, working for the progressive revelation of the eternal truth that Christ afterwards incarnated, working for the accomplishment of the same great ends of human redemption and divine kingship for which he worked in Christ. God's purpose was the same in each case; the fundamental meaning of his work in Israel and his work in Christ is the same. In the deepest sense therefore Israel as a whole could be a type of Christ.

In the fourth place, the New Testament sees Christ predicted or typified (as the particular case may be) in respect of certain events in his life. Is this aspect of its discernment of Christ in the Old Testament valid? It is worth while to observe that whether intended to predict and typify Christ's life or not, there were in Old Testament history these parallels of events in his life. There is no other national literature that contains so many striking events paralleled in the crucial experiences of some great man who arose far down the course of its history. The objection is raised by some that the New Testament writers, having the Old Testament before them and desiring to make it appear that Christ had been predicted in olden time, tampered with the facts so as to make Christ's life seem to fulfill Old Testament prediction. But to charge the authors of the gospels with this dishonesty is to raise problems harder to solve than the one whose removal is thereby sought. It seems certain of course that Matthew selected and grouped his material partly to prove that Christ fulfilled Old Testament pre-

dictions. Further, it may be that sometimes Jesus planned to fulfill prediction. In his eyes the Old Testament contained expression of his Father's will for him, and according to the gospels he saw in it many references to his own earthly life. What more natural than that he who loved to do his Father's will should act accordingly? For instance, he rode on the ass into Jerusalem probably with the deliberate purpose of fulfilling the prophecy in Zechariah (this of course does not exclude some other and principal purpose). He may have acted similarly on some other occasions. If so, this would partly explain the fact that there are so many striking resemblances between the experiences of Old Testament saints and those of Jesus Christ. But is it true not only that Christ in some respects deliberately conformed his experiences to theirs but also and still more that in some cases God guided their experiences to match his? It surely would not be surprising if there had been a providential guidance of individual lives so as to furnish counterparts to the most significant features in the earthly career of the Son of God, the central figure of all human history, for whose coming all history and in particular Hebrew history was a divinely-directed preparation.

We have now considered one of the two main phases of the New Testament doctrine concerning the presence of Christ in the Old Testament, and have found that certain broad ranges of historical fact tend to substantiate the New Testament view that God intended through the Hebrew theocracy as a whole and through its principal institutions and through the lives of some if not all Old Testament saints to typify Christ and the Christian dispensation.

II.

Now in addition to this the New Testament also teaches that Christ, the eternal Son of God, was personally present and operative in Old Testament history. According

to Paul and John and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews Christ was the Creator of all things. John reports that Jesus declared "Before Abraham was, I am." It is evident that men who thus thought of Christ must have regarded him as personally present in all history and peculiarly in Hebrew history. Again, according to John at least one of the Old Testament theophanies was an appearance of Christ (John 12:40-41). This passage identifies Christ with Jehovah, and there are passages in several of the New Testament writings which involve the same idea. Men who regarded Christ as the Old Testament Jehovah of course saw Christ in all the divine activity in Old Testament times. And once more, Paul says that the people of Israel under Moses in the wilderness "drank of a spiritual rock that followed them: and the rock was Christ" (1. Cor. 10:4). And the Epistle to the Hebrews says that Moses accounted "the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt" (Heb. 11:26). And according to the First Epistle of of Peter, referring to the Old Testament prophets, "the Spirit of Christ which was in them did point unto, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ and the glories that should follow them" (1:11). All this evidence shows that the New Testament writers believed that Christ was a living divine presence among and in men before his incarnation.

The same conclusion may be reached in another way. The apostolic circle believed that Christ is personally in the Christian, and that he existed before his incarnation, and that he was in some sense present with the ancient people of God. The conclusion is irresistible that they believe that Christ was personally in the hearts and lives of the children of God before his incarnation. And it is from this angle that we can best consider the validity of the New Testament view. For to deny this view one would have to deny the Deity of Christ, and his Lordship in history, and the precious truth of his presence in Christian hearts.

III.

In conclusion we may be permitted, though not strictly a part of our theme, to glance at the New Testament Messianic use of Old Testament language in the light of this conception of the pre-incarnate Christ. It seems probable that this conception is in part the basis of much of the New Testament's free use of the ancient Scriptures. Although this paper, as stated near its beginning, does not present a discussion of the New Testament's Messianic quotations, yet it may be well to say that some connections of Christ with Old Testament statements are not represented as Messianic by the New Testament. Sometimes the statement may be used rhetorically, the author merely draping his thought in the familiar and loved language of the ancient Scriptures (Rom. 10:6-8 from Deut. 30-11-14. 1. Cor. 15:55 from Hosea 13:14). Or the quotation may be employed simply as an illustration (2. Cor. 8:15 from Exod. 16:18). Or the historical material may be used to construct all allegory (Gal. 4:21-31). Or the quotation may be used because there is a striking resemblance between the New Testament event and the fact mentioned in the quotation (Possibly Matt. 2:18 from Jer. 31:15). Sometimes we find the merest reference to an Old Testament event (Luke 17:25-30). Nevertheless we do find a very free and sometimes seemingly unwarrantable Messianic use of Old Testament passages. It is here suggested that the New Testament's conception of the pre-incarnate Christ may have been in part the basis of much of its Messianic interpretation. For example, "Out of Egypt did I call my Son" is used by Hosea of the exodus of the nation from Egypt and by Matthew of the return of Jesus from Egypt. Did Matthew apply this passage to the Son of God because Christ (see Heb. 11:26) as the life of Israel came out of Egypt in the time of Pharaoh and the same Christ, now incarnate, came out of Egypt in the time of Archelaus? Perhaps Matthew did not clearly formulate the

matter in his mind, but it is a fair question whether some such association of ideas is not at the bottom of much of the New Testament's Messianic use of the Old. Take another case: When we find applied to Christ Old Testament language concerning Israel as the Servant of Jehovah and as vicariously suffering for the salvation of men, it may be that the deep, underlying idea is that the pre-incarnate Christ was personally present in the Israel that was the Servant of Jehovah, and therefore in applying the language to Jesus Christ the New Testament writers are not accommodating it to an entirely different person, but in their view rather to the same person under different conditions. If so, the application to Jesus Christ of Old Testament statements concerning individuals was made on the same principle.

One other passage is worthy of study as bearing on this topic, namely "That it might be fulfilled which was spoken through the prophets, that he should be called a Nazarene" (Matt. 2:23). The Old Testament contains nothing bearing the remotest resemblance to this statement. Possibly it was quoted from some writing lost to us. On the other hand it should be observed that it is ascribed to "the prophets," not to a single author unless any individual's statement in a collection of prophetic writings might be ascribed to the collection rather than to the individual author. But if this was not the case and if Matthew was summarizing some general fact which he found in "the prophets," what light does the passage throw on the question before us? It may be that this was Matthew's conception: Providence ordained that Christ by his residence in the mean, provincial, despised, vile, unsympathetic, hostile village of Nazareth should correspond to the true servants of God who had suffered in the olden time; and that their experiences should be, as it were, predictions of his. And the basis of this idea may have been the underlying conception of the pre-incarnate Christ as present in the Old Testament saints. For in the Old Testament we find abundance of passages

that speak of the lowliness of righteous men, of their mean condition, of their living in the midst of uncongenial surroundings among evil and hostile influences, being despised by a misjudging, scornful world. And Matthew may have discerned the lowly, despised, rejected Christ in every despised, rejected righteous man in the Old Testamnt, regarding Christ as the divine force, the righteous life in all righteous men of the Old period as well as of the New. If so, Matthew would regard all language concerning the Old Testament saints such as could be summed up in the despised epithet "the Nazarene" as spoken also of Christ himself, because Christ being in the saints suffered with them their humiliation. And his residence in Nazareth in his incarnate state was merely another fulfillment of what he had repeatedly suffered before and of what had repeatedly been said concerning him in "the prophets."

Now while the most important investigation of the New Testament's Messianic use of the Old Testament lies in the sphere of the history of Jewish and Christian interpretation in New Testament times and in a comparison of the New Testament interpretations with the results of an independent study of Old Testament Messianic prophecy, yet the standpoint of this essay ought not to be neglected. And the great fact of the presence of Christ in Hebrew history as a whole and in individual Hebrew hearts tends toward the view that the New Testament Messianic applications of Old Testament passages, strange and incredible as many of them seem, really proceed upon principles as profound as the life of God in the soul of man. Christ, the eternal Son of God, was in Moses, in David, in Isaiah, and in every other man of God. And Christ, the God-man, in his words, deeds, character, life, death, resurrection, ascension and exaltation, in his person, in his influence, in his relation to God and man, presents the substantial, essential realization of the ideal of Hebrew kingship, priesthood and prophethood and of Hebrew history in its totality. All is concentrated in

him. He individualizes it all. He fulfills it all. He transmutes its temporary, earthly elements into that which is eternal and heavenly; He raises its spiritual elements to ideal perfection; He changes the national into the universal, the Jewish into the broadly human, the form into the substance. He appointed both the temporary and the eternal, the provisional and the final. In both he was the vital principle and the divine presence. It is certain that this is the profound conception of Christ's relation to Hebrew history taught in the New Testament. Since this is so, is it not reasonable to suppose that its Messianic interpretation of Old Testament statements was equally profound? In the light of all the considerations presented in this paper, looking at the question shall we say that only from its standpoint, the New Testament's interpretation of Messianic prophecy is a species of artificial, hyper-ingenious, barren, false rabbinism, or that it is the sane, sober, profound insight of men whose eyes the Son of God had opened (Luke 24:45) to see the new in the old, the divine in the human, the harmony and vital identity of every self-manifestation of God in all the ages?

THE THEOLOGICAL TREND.*

ADDRESS BY REV. E. Y. MULLINS, D.D., LL.D.,
PRESIDENT OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, LOUISVILLE, KY.

The nature of the subject assigned me demands a consideration of the general course of theology, and not merely the development among Baptists. The limits of time require that the treatment be condensed into the barest of outlines.

If we consider the Christian centuries as a whole, we may distinguish the great leading types of theology into four and four only. The first of these is the Latin or Augustinian type, which construes all theological truth around the idea of God as Sovereign. It received its earliest commanding statement at the hands of the great Bishop of Hippo. This theology, revived and made current by John Calvin, has beyond all others ruled in the theological realm since the Reformation. The second is the Greek type of theology, which sought in particular to reconcile Christianity and culture. Its structural principle was the human consciousness, man's sense of freedom and original likeness to God. Under the vitalizing hand of Clement of Alexandria, Origen and others, in the early centuries, revived and made current again by Schleiermacher in modern times, this type of theology has gained a currency in our day beyond that of any period in the past. A third type of theology is the sacramental, which economises all doctrine around the conception of the sacraments. In the Roman Church through many centuries, and in the Oxford movement in more recent times, it has asserted its power in the Christian World. The fourth type may be designated the

* Address delivered by President Mullins at the Baptist World Congress July 14, 1905, at Exter Hall, London, England.

theology of the inner life, which has received its chief development in the writings of the Christian mystics at intervals throughout the Christian ages. Its starting point is Christian experience, or the soul in direct relations with God through Christ and the Spirit.

All these types of theology are important factors in the thinking of men to-day. All of them claim the support of the Scriptures, in greater or less degree. They are not, of course, always sharply defined and mutually exclusive. But as conflicting principles, or as presenting materials for fresh combination and larger synthesis, they include within themselves all the essential interests which may be described as strictly and essentially theological. Modern science and philosophy have powerfully impressed themselves in one way or another upon these types of opinion, as we shall see. It remains true, however, that the soul of man, in its attempts to construe its relations to God, has ever planted itself upon one or the other of these four principles, two of which are internal and two external. The two internal principles are: first, man's consciousness of himself as by nature a free moral creature made in God's image; and second, that consciousness as enlightened by regenerating grace and the indwelling Spirit. The two external starting-points are: first the conception of God as Sovereign; and second, of the sacraments as the means of salvation.

We must consider next the great and imperious necessities which have imposed upon modern theology the particular form which the movement has assumed from time to time. The necessities are four—the religious, the ethical, the apologetic and the metaphysical, which, of course, are likewise incapable of being radically and completely disjoined, save for purposes of discussion.

I note first the religious demand as affecting the course of the theological movement. One of the greatest achievements of recent thought is the establishment of the truth that man as such is inherently and incorrigibly a religous being. Another truth which is slowly clarifying itself to

man's view is, that while religion deals with facts, God and the soul, and their relations to each other, the proper office of theology is to set forth as exhaustively as may be the meaning of these facts. Theology, then, is the thought side of religion, and religion is the fact side of theology. Science is at length giving its belated recognition to the great truth that spiritual phenomena are as real as physical; that coherence of thoughts is no less a bit of reality than coherence of atoms; that the attraction of love in a kingdom of persons is as real as the attraction of gravitation in a kingdom of suns and planets.

The modern theological movement thus began under the imperious urgency of man's religious need. Schleiermacher, who more than any other one man perhaps, gave impulse to the new dogmatic construction, began with a religious postulate, man's sense of dependence upon the Absolute. As preacher and as theologian he contended for the rights of the soul in its hunger for God against the barren rationalism which had usurped the place of faith. The adoption, thus, of a fact of consciousness as the focus of theological reconstruction, had implicit in it a new and far-reaching principle. It raised at once the question of authority, and set the Christian consciousness over against the Scripture, natural reason, and the Church. The underlying assumption was that man, as made in God's image and restored to proper relations with God, is a reliable channel for the communication of religious truth. Henceforth, the question of authority in religion shall occupy a more important place in men's thinking than ever before.

This making of man the starting-point in theological reconstruction was the natural fruit of a more general tendency which has prevailed since the Reformation, which has borne at least two marks which will sufficiently distinguish it. The right of individual initiative in secular and religious life, issuing in the principle of private interpretation of Scripture and religious liberty, was one; and the growing sense of the worth of man as man, issu-

ing in the great philanthropies of modern time, with the crowning enterprise of Foreign Missions as its noblest expression, is the other.

Along with the growing sense of human worth and the elevation of the Christian consciousness to a position of authority, there has been a corresponding change in the conception of God. The harsher aspects of the Divine character have been toned down. Fatherhood has been fixed upon as the essential and final interpretation of the idea of God. The idea of law has been revised until the penal element is with many entirely excluded. An enfeebled sense of God's holiness is the great weakness of this type of theology. Aided, it is assumed, by certain aspects of the theory of evolution, sin is understood as infirmity, or a step upward merely into the realm of moral consciousness. Law becomes thus a corrective agency only. As God, the Administrator of Law, is greater than the sinning creature, and as he is essentially Love, there is but one possible issue—universal salvation.

As a part of this general scheme the incarnation of God in Christ is made the basis of an inference which supports the whole, or it is conceived as the starting-point from which the rest is inferred. Christ took hold of the race as such, and is organically and vitally related to every man. This is the basis of Scripture teaching; the inference is that the race thus honored must, in every member, at last be persuaded or chastised into an acceptance of its normal relations of obedience and love to God. Apparent contradictions in Scripture, we are told, must be understood in the light of this inference.

Now, as a mark of the essentially religious character of this tendency in theology, as distinguished from the rationalistic, we may note that the only contradictions which many of its advocates find intolerable are those which bear upon the religious and moral consciousness. They accept, without hesitation in many instances, the intellectual difficulties involved in the doctrine of the Trinity, and the Divinity of Christ and the Divine Sover-

eignty, but cannot at all endure in its theological system the existence of any mystery which leaves even an apparent shadow upon the Divine goodness. F. D. Maurice and the poet Robert Browning in England, and George A. Gordon of the United States, may be named as representatives in a general way of the tendency I have been outlining.

2. Another factor which has powerfully influenced the theological movement has been ethical conviction. In part this has appeared as a reaction against an excessive and exclusive individualism in the conception of salvation since the Reformation. The feeling has grown in the minds of earnest men that the ethical implications and social bearings of justification by faith have not been sufficiently recognised in the older theological formularies. All moral excellence and beauty of character are implicit in regeneration and justification, but theology has often been content to leave them thus.

The conception of the worth of the ethical ideal has received reinforcement in several other ways. The pressure of the social question is one. The industrial revolution has produced a crisis in the relations between capital and labour; the intimate and vital relations of the various parts of the world commercially and politically, along with the growing sense of the fearful evil of war, have imparted an urgency to the moral aspects of national problems wholly unprecedented.

The ethical ideal has been aided by the growing historical sense. The real inner principle of sequence by which progress is distinguished from mere movement in historic time is more and more understood to be moral. So profoundly has this mood taken hold upon the thought of our time that votaries of science or literature who acknowledge no transcendent sanction for ethics of the nature of personality are yet in many cases stout champions of the moral ideal. Mr. Huxley and Matthew Arnold, among many, may serve as illustrations. But for all who read the riddle of the historic movement during the past

two thousand years in the light of Christian theism, the conclusion is inevitable that God is both missionary and moral, and that the goal of the historic movement is to be found only in the ethical ideals of Jesus of Nazareth. Jesus was not merely an ethical teacher, he was also the inaugurator of an ethical enterprise which claims all subsequent ages as its own, and which distinguishes Christianity from all others as the religion of the Divine initiative.

3. A third necessity which has given direction to the theological movement has been the apologetic interest. The attack upon Christianity has changed in its form, and the defences have necessarily undergone a corresponding modification. A universal and once-for-all sufficient defence of the faith seems to be an empty dream, for the reason that unbelief knows no limit in the methods of attack.

In our day the stress of the controversy has been the outgrowth of the new ideal of science. The scientific demand is that nothing be accepted as true which is not based on facts, and which is not capable of verification. The result of this demand is at first to narrow greatly the area of things known as certain, and great impatience with assertions beyond that area. This method of investigation found a powerful ally in the philosophical scepticism of David Hume, as revived and elaborated by Immanuel Kant. This scepticism denied the competency of human reason beyond the range of sense perception. For a time the Positivistic philosophy issuing in the dogma of Agnosticism, seemed to threaten an eclipse of faith. The destructive criticism undertook to apply the rigid scientific method to the books of the Old Testament. At once, however, a strange anomaly in science appeared. The scientific process, so long as it investigated physical nature, was passionately agnostic and distressingly humble in its assertions regarding the unknown. In the realm of Biblical criticism, however, it laid aside its garment of modesty and its agnostic temper, and

often constructed imposing edifices of dogmatic assertion upon the frailest foundations of literary fact. In physical science, moreover, there were methods of verification, canons and standards by which results and conclusions might be weighed and tested, while in the criticism of the Old and New Testaments we yet wait for any established and scientific canons of investigation which have the power to give validity and finality to results. It is not meant that criticism has failed of results. Sober, sane and reverent criticism has rendered a mighty service in creating a sense of perspective in the progressive revelation of the Bible, in fostering the methods of careful historical exegesis and in other ways. So long as it recognises its limitations and rigidly adheres to the scientific principle of refusing to assert without a basis of fact, criticism is a highly serviceable department of theological science. No man is a true Baptist who is unwilling to accept all the light and truth which criticism may bring.

Theology, of course, inevitably felt the effects of the new science and the new philosophy. The inspiration of Scripture, the personality of God, and the doctrine of the pre-existence of Christ were simply ignored or set aside by the assumptions of the new naturalism. It was left to Albrecht Ritschl, of Germany, to formulate a dogmatic system which should have as its chief aim the apologetic statement of doctrine. Its merits and demerits can only be understood when the system is viewed as an apologetic. I cannot, of course, expound Ritschl's views in this connection. His adoption of the postulate of agnosticism in his theory of knowledge, and his theory of value-judgments, indicate the crux of his reply to current scepticism. He doubtless restrained many cultivated men from going over entirely to the ranks of unbelief. The issue which his system has left, however, is whether such an attitude in theology can ever serve the practical purposes of a conquering Christianity. History and experience return a negative answer. We must assert on the great fundamentals of faith. The palsy which has seized the

tongue of a large segment of the modern pulpit is the result of a low view of the Person of Christ. Negation or a suspended judgment can never serve the ends of growth and construction. Prophets are born of convictions, not uncertainties; and convictions arise out of experience. We must hark back to experience, the holy of holies of theology, if we would again multiply prophets and rejuvenate theology.

Miracles and the supernatural, of course, received scant courtesy from a dogmatic science and philosophy which insisted upon the universal and exclusive reign of law. Some Christian defenders of the faith have sought to naturalise miracles in the universe, so to speak, by imagining them hidden away in the mechanism of Nature, ready to emerge at the proper moment. This empties them of meaning and reduces them to the naturalistic level.

The issue as to miracles is two-fold. First, it is an issue as to fact. The defender of Christianity need have no fear as to the result. Christian experience acquaints him with the supernatural Force which works the miracle, and thus refutes Hume, who said miracles were contrary to experience and hence to be rejected. The issue is also philosophical. It is not an issue so much between naturalism and supernaturalism, as it is between naturalism and personalism. Is the final unity of things a mechanism or a society, a cosmos or a family? Is force ultimate, or is personality? Are moral interests first, or those which are merely physical? The Christian apologist, in his plea for miracles, stands for order, not chaos; but it is an order in which the moral and spiritual restoration of the society, disordered by sin, is the primary demand. Miracle signalises the supremacy of personality in an ordered universe, and of righteousness as the goal of the historic movement.

4. The fourth necessity which has guided in the theological movement is the metaphysical interest. Here the field is too vast for more than a few hints. The intel-

lectual principle which dominates current metaphysics is the principle of unity, the passion for a single bond capable of unifying the totality of things. Various forms of monism have arisen and contend for the philosophic primacy to-day. Materialistic monism, which finds the ultimate unity in matter, survives, but its importance as a speculative principle in philosophy has been greatly reduced. Pantheistic monism, in one form or another, with its doctrine of the universal substance, has many advocates. The doctrine of the Divine immanence appeals to many modern minds as a sufficient principle for unifying the world; while the apparent difficulty of conceiving of an infinite personality seems to them to ratify and warrant the pantheistic conclusion.

Since Hegel,idealism which identifies existence and thought has had vogue in many quarters, and in recent years, through the leadership of Green, the Cairds and others in Great Britain, and through Royce, Bowne and others in America, idealism in a modified form has gained an ascendency quite remarkable, and seems destined to be popularised so far as a theory so subtle and intricate is capable of being made popular. Idealism contains a great truth and has discredited the materialistic philosophy beyond hope of successful resuscitation.

An American theologian and a Baptist, Dr. A. H. Strong, has made an able and suggestive contribution to the philosophic quest for a principle of unity in his essay, entitled "Ethical Monism," in which the aim is to safeguard the ethical and personal interests against the perils of pantheism, while recognising the necessity for a single principle as the ultimate key to the problem of existence.

In recent speculation the tendency has been to discredit the traditional arguments for the existence of God. It is beginning to appear, however, that all of them have a certain value in vindicating the theistic postulate even among those who deny their cardinal importance as proofs. Christian theism, with its assertion of the Divine

personality and transcendence as well as immanence, can scarcely be said to have been set aside by any results of recent philosophic labours. The objection to the various forms of monism is not that they are wrong in seeking for a unitary principle, but in imagining that they have traced its operation and method. There is a relative dualism which seems beyond man's speculative skill to overcome. The practical question is whether in our philosophic reconstructions it is expedient to force a unity in the face of the practically irreconcilable dualism of mind and matter, of extension and thought, and in other respects. The only philosophic string which is long enough to tie all the facts of existence together in a single bundle is the conception of a personality immanent in but also distinct from and transcendent above nature.

Of course, a great many important aspects of modern theological thought are omitted from the preceding very condensed summary. But the limits of time allotted to this paper forbid further development of this part of my subject. A few statements will next be in order in the way of criticism or appreciation.

The intelligent student of theology discovers easily in the above sketch the chief antitheses and oppositions between the so-called newer and the older types of theology. One thinks of life as an education, the other of life as a probation; one of Christ as Teacher, the other as Redeemer. The one insists upon love as the characteristic attribute of God, the other upon holiness. The one refuses to leave the Christian consciousness as the seat of authority, the other holds to Scripture or the Church. One insists upon the immanence, the other upon the transcendence of God. One tends towards the naturalistic explanation of the moral and religious life of man, the other insists upon the supernatural. One makes the atonement merely a subjective moral appeal to man, the other sees in it an objective ground of remission. Man's likeness to God is the point of emphasis in the one system, his unlikeness in the other. One asserts human freedom

and ability in religious things, the other denies it and dwells upon the bondage caused by sin.

These antitheses might easily be drawn out still further, but it is unnecessary. The error of most of them lies in the fact that they are half-truths. Much of the newer thought in theology is tentative and unauthoritative, because it is simply a protest against the old. It is born of a repugnance, and not of the judicial quest for truth. Much of the old is also inadequate because it ignores aspects of truth which are essential to a complete Scriptural representation. A radical break with the past in theology is as certainly misleading as that life and growth are certainly continuous, and to omit from our thought of God the conception of his holiness is to destroy the foundation of the religious and moral hope of the race.

Both theologies have simplified too much. Simplification may impoverish truth, which is as rich and complex as life itself. Ritschlianism is no whit less an *a priori* scheme than the most thoroughgoing Calvinism. Schleiermacher's fundamental conception is simple and clear enough, but lacks in comprehension of all the facts. Theology, if it is to be adequate, must not be conceived so much as a scheme of thought as an interpretation of a scheme of life. It must begin with the moral and religious, and not with the merely intellectual starting-point. Theology has too frequently been simply rationalism in a religious garb.

The doctrine of last things has been a storm centre in recent theology. The passionate insistence upon a universal salvation has grown out of the renewed emphasis upon the love and Fatherhood of God, which denies that love can be eternally content in the presence of sin or suffering. But this standpoint ignores the fact of freedom and its possible issues, to despoil man of which would be to destroy his identity as man. It also ignores the present fact of sin and suffering in God's universe, which, from the point of view we are criticising, is itself

irreconcilable with infinite love. Inferences as to the future based on God's love must square themselves with facts of the present, which seem to contradict that love before they can be accepted as final. A man cannot obliterate his shadow by simply looking the other way. God's love will surely vindicate itself in its own way and time, but our eschatology meantime must not slur over facts of life and experience as well as teachings of Scripture.

The critical questions which remain in the theology of to-day are concerned with the following: the basis and nature of religious authority, the deity of Christ and his atoning work, the nature of sin, and the general relations of theology to social questions.

Behind these questions lie the philosophic issues between Christian theism and antitheistic theories, and most fundamental of all the question of the reality and nature of knowledge.

I must now forecast briefly the probable course of theological reconstruction in the light of the above considerations. Theology, then, in future will not adopt rationalism as its constructive principle, because rationalism is not always compatible with the interests of life. Naturalism also, which fails altogether to yield a theology in the proper sense, will be avoided for the reason that it is incapable of coping with the situation created by sin. Evolution, while containing a relative truth as to physical nature, breaks down in the attempt to explain the phenomena and facts of the personal and social realm. A merely deistic conception of God is, of course, to be discarded as inadequate. The doctrine of the Divine immanence alone cannot serve as a sufficient principle of theological reconstruction, because it inevitably merges God in nature and in man, and tends to pull the entire structure down to the level of naturalism.

Positively stated, the best theology of the future will continue to accept the authority of the Scriptures, but it will take as its starting-point, for the interpretation and illumination of Scripture, the facts of Christian ex-

perience, not in a single aspect, but in their totality. First, because Christian experience, thus employed, conforms to the scientific ideal which above all things seeks to know the facts of nature, life and religion, and resents theoretical constructions apart from experience in the realm of facts. It conforms, second, to the true philosophical ideal, which also demands a fact basis for all the speculative attempts of the intellect. Thirdly, experience will also restore with greatly increased power the older arguments from the cosmos for the existence of God, transferred in part, however, from the cosmos of nature to the cosmos of the inner life. Fourthly, experience will sustain the cause of the supernatural in its collision with naturalism, because it brings contact with the supernatural in consciousness the most indubitable of all the spheres of reality. In the fifth place, experience will in increasing measure establish the validity of the vicarious atonement of Christ, and its corresponding doctrines of sin and of Christ's deity and present action upon men. Thus it will indirectly add an important contribution to the doctrine of the Trinity. It will also affirm, and at the same time limit and define, the reality of knowledge of transcendental objects in the religious sphere, and indirectly rejuvenate the weakened convictions of an agnostic science in the realm of material research. Sixth, theological dogma will increasingly become the dogma of conviction as opposed to the dogma of mere authority.

Thus the confusions and contradictions in recent writers on authority, as of Sabatier, for example, will be dispelled. The externalists and internalists on authority will discover a larger truth than either theory. Christ's authority will be seen to be real, but incapable of adequate statement save as a paradox. Christ is man's final authority in religion because he imparts spiritual autonomy to man. Man, who is made in God's image, finds in the truth of Christ the ideal of his own higher moral self. Man realises in and through Christ his own

ideal independence. He is thus eternally a subject and eternally free. Authority in religion will remain external so long as there is a reserve of life and truth in Christ. But that authority is forever in process of becoming internal, as men appropriate Christ. Experience will vindicate the authority of the Scriptures, for the experience of God through Christ and the Spirit is seen to be the real inner bond of unity in all the course of revelation. Scripture as a record of original experience cannot be transcended nor can it lose its authority; for the sufficient reason that to discard Scripture is to discard the only means of understanding the historic Christ who emancipates man and imparts to him spiritual autonomy. Faith expires in a vacuum without contact with the historic Christ of Scripture as well as the risen and ascended and living Christ. Again, experience will guide in the final construction of the doctrine of God, for the reason that experience reaches its conception of God, not through nature, but through man, nature's crown; and not merely through the natural man, but through the supernatural and Divine Man, Jesus Christ. It will also appear, as experience grows, that in its Christian form it gathers together as in a focus all that is valid and universal in man's quest for God. It will at once thus discredit and fulfil the ethnic types of experience by showing their inadequacy to man's needs on the one hand, and on the other that it is the answer of God in Christ to man's age-long endeavour to find God. Christian experience, then, will appear as the universal religious and moral ultimate for man, short of which it is impossible for religious experience to halt, and beyond which it is impossible to proceed.

Now the relation of Baptists to this great theological movement has not been adequately recognised and needs defining afresh. Behind our contentions as to baptism and communion and related topics lie a group of great and elemental principles. These principles are religious ultimates, nay, they are axioms, which the instructed

religious consciousness of man cannot repudiate. I sum them up and submit them as a statement of the basis at once for a new Baptist apologetic and a platform for universal acceptance.

1. The theological axiom: *The holy and loving God has a right to be Sovereign.*. Time forbids that I elaborate this statement in its implications as to the incarnation, and as to Christianity as the religion of the Divine initiative.

2. The religious axiom: *All men have an equal right to direct access to God.* This principle is fatal to the practice of infant baptism and to the idea of a human priesthood.

3. The ecclesiastical axiom: *All believers have equal privileges in the Church.* Hierarchies and centralised authorities disappear under the operation of this principle.

4. The moral axiom: *To be responsible man must be free.* This is an elemental truth which cannot receive thoroughgoing application save where ecclesiastical bonds of mere authority are absent.

5. The social axiom: *Love your neighbour as yourself.* This makes the Kingdom of God the goal of the social movement.

6. The religio-civic axiom: *A free Church in a free State.* For this principle Baptists have ever stood. Without it the future of theology and of the Church is fraught with extreme peril.

These axioms are the predestined goal of man's religious thinking. They spring out of Scripture teaching, they meet a deep response in Christian experience. When understood they commend themselves as the universal and necessary and self-evident forms of man's religious life. They are deep like the ocean, elastic and free as the life-giving atmosphere which enswathes the earth, and expansive and comprehensive as the overarching sky. For them the Baptists stand. Planting ourselves upon them our position cannot be successfully

assailed. By means of them Baptists will make fruitful the course of theological development in the ages to come.

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MISSIONARY SITUATION IN THE EAST.

BY REV. WILLIAM ASHMORE, D.D.

To attempt an elaboration of these would take up too much space. They are therefore simply enunciated and left to the consideration of the reader.

I.

The mission fields of Christendom are of three grades —those in which Christianity has been planted and which are already thickly studded with churches—those which have once been evangelized, though poorly done, but which have relapsed and need to be re-evangelized—and those which have never been evangelized at all.

II.

In the *first class* is our own Christian American, as we call it—Christian England and Scotland, Canada and Australia and certain portions of Europe. In the *second class* are the Greek Church regions, the Roman Catholic countries, and even those countries first taught by the apostles themselves. In the *third class* the purely heathen nations, which have never heard of the teachings of Jesus.

III.

In the *first of these fields* the work ought to be done transcendently more than it ever is by personal Christian effort, from house to house and from neighbor to neighbor. Instead of that we do it all by proxy, that is we employ somebody to do it for us as far as we can, and so

we fail of the best results. The *second class are the burnt over districts* of Christendom, and which form the hardest, the most sunparched, the most moistureless and barren of all fields, in which, with rare exceptions, the spiritual yield is small. The *third is the most hopeful field.* It is already yielding successfully, and in the future its harvests will shake like Lebanon.

IV.

Mission history discloses the fact that there is a divinely appointed order in gospel propagation. It was first Jerusalem and then Samaria, and then the uttermost parts of the earth. At that time, the pillars of Hercules stood for the ends of the earth. That order has furnished the pattern for subsequent mission programs, which have followed it with remarkable exactness.

V.

The Book of Acts in its entirety illustrates the carrying out of the instruction in Chap. 1:6-8. In it we see the gospel preached first in Jerusalem and all Judea, then we see it passing over to Samaria, and then see it being carried to the uttermost parts. In the Jerusalem, Samaria campaign, Peter, James and John were the leaders. In the Gentile campaign, Paul, Barnabas and Silas were the leaders.

VI.

Study of apostolic precedents shows us the difference between Evangelizing and Christianizing, according to the word of God. There is a plainly marked line between planting gospel and gathering the fruits of the gospel. Planting the gospel is the work of the Evangelist, maturing and cultivating the fruits of the gospel is the work of the pastor, who is also the teacher.

VII.

The apostle Paul shows us how these things are to be done. First, there was to be the planting, second, there was to be the watering and third, there was to be the harvesting. There was no time limit fixed for the achievment of planting. In the great city of Ephesus,—Paul was two years and six months. In other places he would be there but a short time before he would strike his tent and move on to some other place.

VIII.

Paul, himself though never a pastor of any local church, was always doing the work of a pastor, and showing other people how it must be done. He had upon himself the care of all the churches and the responsibility both of planting and of cultivating. In these particulars the modern foreign missionary follows his example.

IX.

Paul's work in planting the gospel consisted in preaching the primary and fundamental truths about Jesus, who was ordained of God for his work, who was approved by mighty signs and wonders, who died for our sins and was raised again the third day, who ascended on high and will return again bye and bye to judge the quick and dead. He followed this up with vehement exhortations to repent and turn and do works meet for repentance; to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ to be merged, or incorporated in his name, and then to live soberly and righteously, looking for his blessed appearing.

X.

These organized bodies of believers, with pastors and deacons were to continue the work after the apostle had

left them, and to apply themselves to the building up of a new individuality, a new church life, a new community life, and all that pertains to a new and christianized civilization.

XI.

Paul gives us a practical clue from his own experience as to the line of demarcation between Evangelizing and Christianizing. Speaking of himself, he says: "Round about and unto Illyricum I have fully preached the gospel," Now Illyricum was far off in the West on the Adriatic Sea. Paul claims then that this vast region had been fully Evangelized according to the gospel requirement. This did not mean that everybody was converted, or that everybody had heard. Very far from it. But it did mean that the gospel had sounded all over that region, so that people all knew about it, and had heard rumor enough to lead them to make inquiries. According to scripture the existence of a rumor involves a measure of accountability. If he has heard, but has not understood, then he must hear again, but if he has heard and is indifferent, then he is condemmed.

THE EASTEN MISSIONARY SITUATION.

XII.

The modern missionary movement was predicted in Rev. 14, when John saw an angel in mid-heaven having the everlasting gospel to preach to them that dwell on the earth and to every nation and kindred, and tongue, and people. It was the call of the bugle for the rally of the hosts of God's elect.

XIII.

The time of that sounding of the Angel's trumpet is

determined by the fact that the Angel call was just after the deadly wound on one of the heads of the beast was healed, the event is recorded in the 13th Chapter. This makes the missionary movement synchronize with the going forth of Cary and Judson.

XIV.

The rise of the missionary spirit, therefore, was not a spasm, nor something local. It appeared among many churches, and among many Christians in various centres of Christendom, thus showing that it did not spread by contagion, but that it was in the air, and was an emanation from the Holy Spirit.

XV.

The great Asiatic mission field exhibits some of the characteristics of a great line of battle between two contending armies. There is a right wing, a centre, and a left wing. India forms the right wing, China the centre, and Japan the left wing. In these heathen camps there are four great religions. Hinduism, Confucanism, Buddhism and Shintoism, together with various forms of unorganized religion. Among these the organized forms of heathenism are the most obstructive to Christianity. It is strange that men can attribute to the omniscient such a lack of wisdom as to be pre-occupying the ground with systems which only make it harder for his servants.

XVI.

The spiritual strategy of foreign missions follows closely the analogy of conquest in the earliest times. In Ex.13, God turned the people back and did not let them go by way of the Philistines though that was near, the reason given was, lest they should see war. They were not prepared for fighting yet. At a latter day, when they had

been well seasoned, God brought them round another way and hurled them on the flank of Philistines and routed them completely. So in modern missions God did not send his servants to begin war on the strongest holds of heathenism, but they began among small disjointed tribes, they had to acquire a stock of experience, after which the spirit of God led them up against the strongholds of Confucianism, and Shintoism among vast and consolidated bodies of homogeneous heathen.

XVII.

The recent wars of China have helped the missionary situation. War itself is not a weapon of the church, but a sledge-hammer is one of the tools in the tool-chest of the Almighty and a rod of iron has a place among the paraphernalia of the kingdom. The China-Japan war opened the eyes of the Chinese as they never had been opened before. The previous wars with England and the allies were mere scratches in comparison, but they prepared China for more that was to follow.

XVIII.

A new feature of the whole missionary situation in Asia is found in the fact that the whole Asiatic mind and heart is in a frenzied state of ferment. The characteristic of the Asiatic mind has been torpor for many hundreds of years. They have hibernated and have continued just as they were hundreds of years ago. They have not made progress. They have discovered no new inventions; they have been running on momentum. Their indifference to what is going on in the rest of the world was marvelous and pitiful. The war with Napoleon never stirred them a particle, but for that matter neither did the Tei Ping rebellion stir our people. The two sides of the globe had little to do with each other. It is different now. This is owing to the long continued pounding away of the missionary battering ram, partly to the influx of Western

ideas and Western civilization crowding upon their heels and telling them like a policeman that they must move on and not block up the way, but most of all to this tremendous stir that is still unsettled between Japan and Russia. To the Asiatic, it is an amazing spectacle to see gigantic Russia beaten in battle by little Japan. The matter is known all over Asia, is talked about all over Asia. There are more newspapers in the East than there were half a century ago and all these are full of it. What is coming next, they ask? We, ourselves, have talked of the yellow peril, (or rather Kaiser William has,) but for more than half a century the natives of the East have been asking what they could do about the *white peril.* They have seen their countries seized by Europen powers, they have supposed that they were born to be dominated by Europeans and to be compelled to accept such grace and indulgence as the European Lords choose to give them, but they have changed their mind. New thoughts have laid hold of them, new subjects of discussion have risen among them, they are beginning to talk of the rights of the masses, they are beginning to inquire about representative assemblies, and are starting inquiries as to the divine right of kings. They have struck their tents for the morning march, but whither they do not know. They are looking for leaders to be raised up among themselves, and then Asia will be heard from.

Anyone can see how this awakened state of the public mind is favorable to missionary inquiry. Anything but torpor; the missionary can stand anything but that. It will all come out right if he sees the people stirred up and beginning to ask questions. It is to be added in connection with this that the heathen heart is also aroused. There is a soul hunger among them. Multitudes and multitudes of them now believe that all these ages they have been feeding upon ashes. The cry is now for bread. Give us bread, they say, give us bread, give us something that we can eat, give us something that will satisfy our hunger and will slake our thirst.

XIX.

The missionary situation in the East exhibits the missionary body occupying a position of exalted dignity and importance. .They are there as the representatives of the Christianity of the West. They are ambassadors and they fill ambassadors positions, and carry ambassadors credentials. Western cabinets have their diplomatic representatives in the East. Chambers of Commerce have their commercial representatives; naval men and military men have also their interests represented, but it is no part of any of these classes to represent Western Christianity. The Natives know about Western ironclads; they know about Western breech-loaders, but they never hear about Western Christianity. In consequence of this, Christianity, as far as they are concerned, is without any representation whatever. Natives of the East look upon foreigners as being very able men, very highly advanced men, but also as greedy and grasping. In a word, they do have multitudes and multitudes of them an unworthy estimate of Western people.

At this point the missionary comes in. He is a man of culture, and a man of refinement. The Natives soon discover that he is a man of integrity, and a man who keeps his word and tells the truth. Furthermore this man has not come in to make money, he is not buying sugar, nor tea, nor straw matting, nor fire crackers, and he has not any thing to sell. Evidently he is not here to make money. On the contrary he professes to be devoted to the well being of the common people, though he may be under suspicion for a time, yet sooner or later, he gains acceptance for his professions. The Natives of the East see him starting his hospital, starting his school and circulating his literature, and they discover that an uplifting agency of unmeasured immensity has come in among them.

Now in Asia there are about five thousand men and women of this class, they are scattered everywhere, on the

hills and in the valleys, in the cities, in the towns and in the country. Their continual mission is to do good, and as an alterative of public estimate of foreigners the effect is transcendent. They all soon come to understand that if other men represent the commerce of the West, these men represent the religion of the West. Not only is there a change felt towards the missionaries as a body, but the benefit of it extends to the entire foreign community. All this tends to harmony and good feeling, so essential to the good understanding that should exist when people are living together.

Of course, these secular attainments are not the prime objects of the missionary, they are incidental, but they are of untold value nevertheless. So great is the good that even if missions were attended with no spiritual uplift of the people it would pay the nations of the West for all they have ever laid out on them.

XX.

It is a stimulating element in the missionary situation of the East to note the indication of the incipient paralysis of heathenism. In all the years of its past history heathenism has stood firm, but of late we see signs of a coming paralysis. There is a weakening of the grip of heathen religions on their votaries. We detect the trembling hand and the wabbling gait. Fifty years ago any impeachment of the truthfulness of heathenism would be sure to stir up bitter opposition. There is opposition still, and there will continue to be opposition. Nevertheless, multitudes of the best thinkers among them are showing a suggestive indifference. In the Old Testament a man of God said: "Let Baal plead for himself." That illustrates a common state of mind to-day. Many of them say if their idols are good for anything, let them stand up for themselves.

XXI.

The Boxer carnival of carnage and riot wrought some

striking results for missions, enough to measure. They offset the heavy losses incurred. The converts exhibited such heroic devotion to their new found Lord and Master that they set tens of thousands of people to asking what could be the secret of it all. Many who had been enemies became friends. Further in settling up the indemnities the missionaries displayed such fairness and such an absence of any disposition to revenge that that also produced *a tremendous revulsion.*

XXII.

The Russian-Japan war has shaken all Asia like an earthquake. The Asiatics have witnessed an unexpected spectacle, a European power being vanquished by an Asiatic power. Some wonderful results have followed, first of all Protestant missions are delivered from the menace of a Greek Church ascendency. The Greek Church hitherto has not been propagandist, but it is well known that Pobiedonosteff has been planning a campaign for his religion in Manchuria and North China. The intolerant law of Russia would have been re-enacted in Manchuria. From the persecutions of the Stundists, we all know what to anticipate. We have already ten thousand converts in Manchuria and the work is spreading with wonderful rapidity, but Japan has put a quietus upon that peril, neither the Greek Church nor Russia will dominate Manchuria or Northern China. The goverment of Japan has committed itself fully to an advanced liberal policy in line with the enlightened tolerance of the West and will not recede from its position. We need have no fear of that.

There is a peril lodged here which Christians all need to take notice of. There may be a partial breakup in a heathen system, and yet no disposition to embrace Christianity as yet. If we are careless and allow things to drift at haphazard, there may be a freezeup like what

takes place in our Western rivers in the spring. Freshets from the mountains will start the ice floe and they will begin their start to the sea. Suddenly there may come a bitter frost and the next morning all is frozen solid again. In this matter what we have to apprehend is that this paralyzed heathenism will be buttressed and strengthened by Western scepticism emenating from Western science and Western philosophy, but which are neither of them the philosophy of the Bible nor the science of the Bible.

XXIII.

But by far the most hopeful of all the elements of our present day missionary situation is the uprise of the native Christian church. This marks an era in missionary progress. A baby born in a family is helpless, it has to be carried in arms and nursed and petted, a perpetual source of outgo and never of income. When, however, the baby gets into its teens it begins to be of some service, and when at last it reaches manhood it takes its full share in the support of the household.

So it is with our native converts. When a mission field is first started they are like little children, they do not take responsibility, do little for self-support, and often are very little help to the missionary. It cannot very well be otherwise and we do not expect it to be otherwise. We have to have long patience, and wait long for our converts to be of some use. I have no doubt that we sometimes have waited too long, still there is a need of maturity which nothing but years and experience will give, and there has to be in a mission a certain amount of capitalized experience before the church can be depended upon to do much of anything. But things have changed lately. We are getting along to the point where our converts are mature; in some cases the children and even the grandchildren of converts have never worshiped idols. They are growing up firm in the faith. Further-

more they have acquired visibility, there are enough of them to be counted. That of itself is a great thing. In early days only a small group of a dozen or twenty could be gathered together in a half province, they scared like rabbits, now in some of the large cities of the empire, when an occasion calls for it they will turn out by the thousands. They fill great halls and they make the old timbers ring with the Lord's song in a strange land. They have become a force in the community where they are, a force that always makes for righteousness. They are beginning to remove the load from the missionary pack saddle, and take it on their own shoulders. They are beginning to do their own thinking, they are managing their own financies, they are presiding over their own meetings and they are beginning to write their own books. More than that, the officials are beginning to treat them with "assurances of distinguished consideration." They have accepted invitations to be present at the meetings of their school boards, and even their religious conferences.

And all this is only a beginning. We are already called upon to see how much of an increment to the force of Christendom the coming of these heathen diciples would be. John Jacob Astor once said, it was harder work for him to get the first ten thousand of his fortune than it was afterwards to get the next hundred thousand. It is so with us in missions, but now we have already completed our first hundred thousand in China, our fifty thousand in Japan and our hundreds of thousands in Burma, and India and it will not be long before they will be coming in by the half million or by the whole million.

XXIV.

We have by no means enumerated all the impressive and encouraging features of our missionary situation, but we have said enough to show our people what the signs of promise are. *It remains only to add this, that mission-*

aries to-day stand at the head of the regenerative forces of China. The victory is sure, the triumph is theirs already. We do not mean that we have already attained, but we are on the way, and this we are confident of, that in half a century more Christianity will be the dominant religion of Asia.

JOHN KNOX, PREACHER.

BY PROF. E. C. DARGAN, D. D.

Works of Knox, ed. David Laing; *Life of John Knox*, Thos. McCrie; *Life of Knox*, P. Hume Brown; *John Knox, His Ideas and Ideals*, James Stalker; *John Knox*, Henry Cowan; Sermon on *The Source and Bounds of Kingly Power* (title given by editor), in Fish's *Masterpieces of Pulpit Eloquence.*

The traditional date of Knox's birth is 1505, and so the Christian world observes the current year as the four hundredth anniversary. And if, with Professor Cowan and others, we hold that the date is from eight to nine years too early, the matter is too uncertain to make much difference. We are at least not far out in celebrating the great Scottish reformer's memory in this year. The character and career of John Knox offer much of fadeless interest to the student of religious and political history. His is one of the great historic figures which cannot be left out of view in any adequate study of the stirring age in which he lived. Powerfully influential in his own time, his life has been richly fruitful in all subsequent times. For it was given to Knox more than to any other one man to mould the religious life of his country in an age when the religious question was uppermost amid the fierce debates of intellect and the warring policies of statecraft. The place of Scottish thought in the history of the last four hundred years has been one of power. Scotch views of religion, of morals, of civic duty, have extended around the world, and have been no small force in maintaining the best ideals and practice on these momentous concerns. The main instrument of Knox's power was preaching. Something of a statesman he was, something of a theologian, very much of a reformer, but chiefly and above all else a preacher. It is

therefore fitting that this phase of his great career should receive emphatic recognition and the fullest possible treatment.

But as a matter of fact the preaching of Knox usually has only incidental notice in the accounts of his life and work. The reason for this seemingly strange fact is, that, while the traditional accounts of Knox's preaching are numerous and vivid, the literary remains are scanty almost to nothingness. In his *History of the Scotch Reformation* Knox himself makes occasional record of both the substance and the effects of his preaching, but there is only one sermon reported in full. Besides his own writings there are few notices of his puplit work in contemporary literature, and of the powerful effects produced by his sermons. Then, as we know that this was his chief employment and the main instrument by which he accomplished the great and enduring results of his labors, we know that his word was with power. It is by putting together such facts as these, together with the story of his life and preparation, that we can form our necessarily imperfect estimate of John Knox the preacher.

Every great man's life is of course in large part the fruit of his training; and certainly no great preacher can be properly estimated without reference to the facts of his up-bringing and preparation for his task. So also the moulding influence of the events of his life and the larger movements of his age must be taken into account. It is self-evident then that Knox as preacher must be studied both in the course of his own personal history and in that of his times.

Only brief review, however, of the main outline of Knox's life, with incidental reference to the stirring scenes in which he moved, is here needed. The life of Knox falls into five distinct periods: (1) His early life up to his conversion to the Protestant faith; (2) The beginning of his career as reformer, and his captivity in the French galleys; (3) His five years' sojourn and

work in England; (4) His residence abroad with his visit and influence in Scotland; (5) His final residence and work in Scotland.

The first of these periods extends from 1505 (or 1513-14, as some authorities contend) up to 1543, or thereabout, when he first began to come under decided reformatory influences. This was the time of his education and early bent toward his life-work. He was born of middle-class folks, respectable and sturdy. Of his earliest schooling little or nothing is known, but there was a grammar school at Haddington, his birthplace, where it is presumed he received the customary elements of a preparatory education. There is some dispute whether his university training was at Glasgow or St. Andrews. Cowan argues for the latter place, but McCrie and others believe it was at Glasgow. At any rate, whether at one or the other University, Knox took the usual collegiate education of his times, enjoying the instructions of John Major, the most accomplished Scottish humanist of his age. He was also associated with George Buchanan the poet, with whom he formed a lifetime friendship. Although Major was a learned man and no doubt left a permament influence on the mind and character of Knox, the standard of education was by no means high in Scotland at that time. In fact Knox never was a scholar in any proper sense, certainly not in comparsion with Luther or Calvin, nor indeed with many other leaders of the Reformation. He was, as we may say, a fairly well educated man according to the standards of his day and country. Later studies, especially under Calvin's influence, and particularly in the languages of the Bible, supplied some of the lack of his early culture.

There is little or nothing known of Knox's life during the rest of these early years. Conjecture and the few stray hints that we possess make it probable that somewhere between 1530 and 1540 he was ordained a priest, and also was notary; from which it is inferred that he was not a regular parish priest. But that he was a stu-

dent of the Fathers, especially Augustine, during this time is known. How far he was drifting toward Reform principles does not appear, but it is not unlikely that in all these years of retirement he was laying the foundation for his subsequent great activity, in thoughtful study of the religious questions of the age. His thorough acquaintance both with the Reformation theology and with the Catholic conditions of the day shows that these silent years were not devoid of study. Toward the end of this obscure period of the future reformer's preparatory career he seems to have heard some evangelical preaching from his future colleague, John Rough, and from Thomas William, a Dominican friar who held some reformatory opinions. No doubt these exerted some influence, but little is really known on these points.

The second stage of Knox's life extends from about 1543-5 to 1549. During this time some of the more potent influences in his career as preacher and reformer were operative. Coming under the influence more and more of the Reformed views Knox is watched by the Catholic authorities. He is taken under the protection of two gentlemen who are themselves inclined to Protestantism, and becomes the instructor of their sons at Longniddry. He teaches not only the rudiments of learning, but also gives instruction in the New Testament. To his expository lectures others than his pupils are admitted, and we may consider now that Knox's reformatory preaching has begun in this modest way. Already his lectures show the drawing quality of the man as a speaker and expounder of the Word. He is thus occupied when the decisive moment comes for all his after life. The eloquent and devoted George Wishart comes from England back to his native Scotland to preach the new doctrines. Just when and how he made a captive of Knox we do not know, but Hugh Douglas of Longniddry—Knox's patron—was a friend of Wishart and his cause, and Wishart preached in the neighborhood. The story of Wishart's capture and execution under the tyrannous persecution of Cardinal

Beaton does not belong here, but Knox held a sword for Wishart and offered to go with him to St. Andrews for his trial. Wishart refused the brave and generous but useless offer, telling Knox to return to his pupils.

After Beaton's assassination by the outraged friends of Wishart the times became more and more unsafe for Knox. He was accordingly taken with his pupils into the Castle of St. Andrews, whither the murderers of Beaton, and the now considerable body of Protestants, had taken refuge. Here under these singular auspices the great preaching career of John Knox took its actual rise. His lectures (still kept up) to his pupils and others drew attention to his remarkable powers of expository speech, and his knowledge of the mooted questions of religion, and, his skill in argument, pointed him out as a leader among the refugees. The story of his "call" to the office of preacher to this strange congregation is told by himself in his *History of the Reformation.* John Rough, the priest, had broken with the Catholic party and committed himself irrevocable to the Reformation by taking refuge with the "Castilians", as the refugees at St. Andrews were called. With a magnanimity which reminds us of the similar proceeding of Farel with Calvin at Geneva, Rough urged Knox to become pastor and preacher to the congregation, either in his place or as his colleague. Knox resisted his importunities and those of others, saying that "he would not run where he had not been called." Upon this, Rough preached a sermon on the calling of a minister by the people as the proper and scriptural way, and at his conclusion turned to Knox and said: "Brother, ye shall not be offended albeit I speak unto you that which I have in charge, even from all those that are here present, which is this: in the name of God and of his Son Jesus Christ, and in the name of these that presently call you by my mouth, I charge you that ye refuse not this holy vocation; but that as ye tender the glory of God, the increase of Christ's kingdom, the edification of your brethren and the comfort of me, whom ye

understand well enough to be oppressed by the multitude of labours, that ye take upon you the public office and charge of preaching, even as ye look to avoid God's heavy displeasures, and desire that he shall multiply his graces with you." Then turning to the people he asked if he had not spoken their will and commission. They approved. Knox was greatly troubled, and in tears. For several days he kept to himself and was bowed with the weight of the responsibility thus thrust upon him. But he recognized his duty, and soon had occasion to exercise his ministry in a notable fashion. A priest had preached a sermon in defence of the Roman positions, and at the close Knox offered to prove that the pope was "anti-Christ," and more of the same sort. "And so (thus Knox himself reports) the next Sunday was appointed to the said John to express his mind in the public preaching place. Which day approaching the said John took the text written in Daniel, the seventh chapter (Dan. 7:24, 25) beginning thus: And another shall rise after them, etc." The substance of the sermon is given as follows: 1. He showed the love of God to his church. 2. He treated of the state of the Israelites then in captivity, and of the four empires (Babylonian, Persian, Greek, and Roman), in the destruction of which "rose up that last beast, which he affirmed to be the Roman church." 3. But before opening up the corruptions of the papacy he "defined the true church." After that he says, "Every one of these heads sufficiently declared, he entered to the contrary; and upon the notes given in his text he showed that the Spirit of God in the New Testament gave to this king other names, to-wit, 'the man of sin', 'the anti-Christ', 'the whore of Babylon.'" While these terms could not be personally applied to individual popes they belong to the office, and are illustrated in the lives of individuals. "And then began he to decipher the lives of divers popes, and the lives of all the shavelings for the most part. Their doctrines and laws he plainly proved to repugn directly to the doctrine and laws of God the

Father and of Christ Jesus his Son." Then he took up the doctrine of justification by faith, argued against purgatory and the mass, and offered in conclusion to prove all he had said by the Scripture and history. He adds as comment: "Of this sermon, which was the first that ever John Knox made in public, was there divers bruits. Some said, 'Others sned the branches of the papistry, but he strikes at the root, to destroy the whole.'" Other remarks indicated variously the profound impression made by this first real sermon delivered by the now fully committed reformer. Other ministrations were not so notable as this, and soon the seige and capture of the castle sent the refugees into exile, some of them as toilers in the French galleys. One of these unfortunates was Knox. For several years he was thus a prisoner at hard labor. Once the galley on which he toiled was brought in sight of St. Andrews and the castle was pointed out to Knox. With prophetic courage he declared that he would again preach the gospel there. And so he did.

In 1549 the third stage of Knox's life begins, with his release from the galleys and his residence of five years in England. It is probable that he owed his release to the Protestant English government during the reign of Edward VI. Under state influence Knox received an appointment as preacher at Berwick, where his diligence, boldness and power in the pulpit are attested by numerous hints, but from which no literay remains survive. Later he was transferred to Newcastle, where during his Berwick ministry he had paid a visit and had rendered vigorous testimony before a company assembled by Bishop Tunstall of Durham to hear him explain his conduct as a preacher. Tunstall had endeavored to punish Knox thus, but had really given him a good opportunity to speak his mind. So now at Newcastle as regular minister he had abundant opportunities to enhance his former reputation as a bold preacher of Reformed doctrine. During this time also he was appointed one of the six royal chaplains, and his duties not only gave him

opportunity of preaching before the court at times, but also that of itinerating in various parts of the country. Knox was not the man to slight opportunities for preaching, and his service was very fruitful. His boldness in making application of his discourses to men and affairs is strikingly shown in a famous discourse which he gave before King Edward's council, in which he said that good kings were often abused by bad councillors, and after adducing the instances of David and Hezekiah, he proceeded to say: "What wonder is it, then, that a young and innocent king be deceived by crafty, covetous, wicked and ungodly councillors? I am greatly afraid that Ahithophel be councillor, that Judas bear the purse, and that Shebna be scribe, comptroller and treasurer"! At a later time Knox complains of himself that he had not always been as faithful in rebuking manifest iniquity as he ought to have been. We hardly know which is more surprising: the boldness, or his depreciation of it. During this English sojourn he was offered a bishopric, but declined. He was also betrothed to Marjorie Bowes of Berwick, whom he later married. But his residence in England came to a close soon after the accession of Mary Tudor. Knox was reluctant to leave, but finally yielded to the dictates of prudence and the entreaties of friends, and went to the Continent.

Another five years (1554-1559) of exile from his native land was broken into by a visit of nearly a year's duration to Scotland, but was chiefly spent at Geneva. We cannot here trace the details, but the memorable things are that part of the time he was pastor of a congregation of English exiles at Frankfort, where disagreements over the liturgy divided the congregation and drove Knox away; part of the time he was in charge of an English church at Geneva, where he was much beloved as pastor and preacher; for a short while, during an enforced waiting period, he boldly preached the word at Dieppe to a band of discouraged Huguenots; and part of the time he was permitted to be in Scotland, where his preaching and

presence gave great encouragement to the Reformed cause. Of his preaching itself during this time we have no specimens, but only some detached accounts. Thus Professor Cowan has put together some very interesting notices of Knox's work at Dieppe. He quotes a writer of a later period as saying of the work at Dieppe: "Under his brief ministry the number of the faithful so increased that they dared to have preaching in broad daylight." A priest of Dieppe, writing in the eighteenth century, but from data furnished by much older records, speaks of Knox as "a learned man," "vehemently zealous," and "so eloquent that he controlled the minds of men according to his will." A contemporary resident of Dieppe writing to Calvin speaks of "Master John Knox, a singular instrument of the Holy Spirit, who according to the graces bountifully poured out upon him by the Lord, has faithfully promoted by his preaching the glory of Christ, during the short time that it has been in his power to have fellowship with us." Testimony is also borne to the effect of his preaching—as at Berwick and Newcastle—in the conversion and moral renovation of men, even the hardened and vicious.

The success attending his visit to Scotland was simply marvellous. He preached constantly, from place to place, winning converts, confirming the Reformers, and awakening the rage and jealousy of the Catholic party. He was summoned to Edinburgh to appear before the authorities, and showed both wisdom and characteristic boldness in going. For some reason the trial did not come off; and on the contrary Knox utilized the occasion to preach in private houses to crowds for ten days. With pardonable elation he writes to his mother-in-law, Mrs. Bowes, at Geneva: "Rejoice, mother, the time of our deliverance approacheth. The trumpet blew the old sound three days together, till private houses of indifferent largeness could not contain the voice of it. Sweet were the death that should follow forty such days in Edinburgh as I have had three." But the time was not yet ripe for him

to remain in Scotland, and an urgent summon from his flock at Geneva called him back there for a few years.

The sojourn at Geneva, with its diligent ministry in preaching and pastoral service, with its association with Calvin and other notable Reformed leaders, with its comparative leisure and its incentives to study, with its domestic life and social intercourse, was a most important stage in the moulding of John Knox for the great and distinctive work of his life. In fact all the varied and trying experiences of his life hitherto are but preparations for the final period of his career, which now begins.

The crowning part of Knox's life and service begins with his arrival in Scotland in May, 1559, and ends with his death in November, 1572. Between these dates lies a time of strenuous labor and lasting achievement. The political and religious history of Scotland in this stormy period is inextricably interwoven with the life and deeds of the reformer, and all may be read in the histories of the Scottish Reformation, and in the biographies of Knox. Our present concern is only with his preaching. He began at once, and his power over men from the pulpit is from now on one of the chief guiding forces of the age. Two signal instances of this occurred soon after his arrival in the country. The Queen Regent—Mary of Guise, mother of Mary Stuart, who was still in France—was trying, with the aid of the Catholic Archbishop Hamilton to oppress the Protestants. She had summoned some of the preachers to appear and answer for their conduct in preaching without license. But through some misunderstanding of her own language they had not answered the summons and had been outlawed for that! It was a trap, but did not succeed. Knox promptly took part with his persecuted brethren, the Protestant Lords took up arms, and a civil war broke out. While the Reformers were gathered at Perth, Knox preached a powerful sermon in the town church against idolatry, meaning the mass. Immediately afterwards, when it came the turn of the Catholics to use the church, a priest under-

took to celebrate mass, before the congregation had retired. A youth standing among some Protestant gentlemen remarked that it was a shame, after what they had just heard, to practise idolatry then and there. The offended priest struck the boy, who retorted by throwing a stone, which missed the priest but broke an image. This was like a spark in a magazine, and led to a riot which resulted in the destruction of all the images in the church, and further to the demolition of the two monasteries in the town. Knox disclaimed responsibility for this act, and said it was not that of serious "professors," but of "the rascal multitude." But it was an evidence of how profoundly his sermon had aroused the minds of the people, though of course other things conspired to produce the outbreak.

Soon afterwards the Reformers transferred their headquarters to St. Andrews. Now Knox had the coveted opportunity to fulfill his prediction, made while a prisoner on the French galleys years before, that he would again preach in the place where he had begun his work. But the archbishop threatened that he would train some small cannon on the church and have Knox shot if he entered the pulpit. That was the way to stop him—if indeed there was any way! His friends tried to persuade him to postpone his sermon, but he answered that his life was in the custody of God, whose glory he was seeking, and persisted in his design. The archbishop was afraid to execute his threat, and Knox preached to a great crowd. He took for his topic our Lord's expulsion of the traders from the Temple, and made the obvious application to the duty of purifying worship there and then. Other sermons followed. As a result, not by the "rascal multitude" this time, but by orders of the town authorities, the mass was abolished, pictures and images were removed from the churches, and the monasteries probably dismantled—though this may have occurred later. Other towns speedily followed the example of St. Andrews in abolishing the mass and the

images. These were the outward acts which showed how deeply the sentiments of the Reformation had taken hold of the people, and how the preaching of Knox, while not the sole was a very influential force in producing that result.

During the further progress of the civil strife Knox was called to the pastorship of St. Giles Church at Edinburgh, and on the capture of the city by the Protestant forces he occupied his pulpit and preached a notable ser mon on the principles and purposes of the Reformation. Soon afterwards the fortunes of war were adverse to the party of the Protestants, and the forces of the Regent took Edinburgh. It was stipulated that Reformed preaching might continue, but the Protestant leaders thought it best for Knox to retire with the army, and to leave John Wilcox in charge of the congregation in Edinburgh. Before leaving Edinburgh Knox had begun a discourse on the eightieth Psalm. Meantime came the retirement of the Reformers. To the tried and dejected band on their stop at Stirling he continued his interrupted discourse. His own account of it in his *History of the Reformation* (Vol. I., p. 465 ff.) runs thus: "He divided the Psalme in three partis, to-wit: (1) In a prayer; (2) In the ground whairupon thair prayer was founded; (3) And in the lamentable complaintes, and the vow whiche thei maik to God." It was this third part which he took up at Stirling. He acknowledges that many of his hearers had need to humble themselves before God for their sins, and that their troubles were in part the consequence of their own faults. But he urged repentance and trust, and with confident earnestness assured his comrades of the final triumph of their cause Of the effect of the sermon he says (p. 473): "The sermoun ended, in whiche he did vehementlie exhorte all men to amendment of lyffe, to prayeries, and to the workis of charitie, the myndis of men began wonderouslye to be erected." Professor Cowan (*John Knox,* p. 215) says: "That this idea was no mere outcome of self-esteem is

indicated by the testimony of contemporaries, and by the resolution of the Council of the Congregation that very afternoon to continue the conflict, and to apply again to the English Government for assistance." In a foot-note Dr. Cowan quotes from George Buchanan a description of the discourse as a *luculentam concionem,* and his saying that Knox "raised the minds of many into a sure hope of speedy deliverance." Also an old historian is quoted who speaks of the leaders as "taking new courage, partly being persuaded by godly sermon made by John Knox."

Nor was it on this one occasion only that the preacher had to cheer the discouraged patriots and reformers. Later at Cupar he encouraged them with "a comfortable service," when his discourse was based on the account of Christ's coming to his disciples as they rowed in the night (John 6). He said that the fourth watch was not yet come, but he was sure the Lord would deliver his own. (Cowan, p. 217). Stalker (*John Knox,* p. 58) quotes Randolph, the English ambassador at this time, as saying that Knox's voice "was able to put more life into men than five hundred trumpets continually blustering in their ears."

The death of the Queen Regent put an end to the civil war. Soon afterwards the young Queen Mary Stuart, now a widow, was recalled from France and put into her rightful authority. The story of her troubled reign lies apart from our present study, and even her long and stubborn struggle with Knox and the party of Reform must be only mentioned. Soon after her arrival she had the mass celebrated at Holyrood palace. On the following Sunday Knox from his pulpit at St. Giles declared that that one mass filled him with more fear than if ten thousand soldiers had been landed to fight against his country. On hearing of the sermon Mary sent for Knox, and the first of his famous interviews with the giddy young queen took place. In these interviews the subject of Knox's plain preaching was several times brought up,

but he declared that it was his duty to preach what he believed God would have him preach, "and flatter no flesh on the face of the earth." Another time when something said in a sermon was objected to, Knox told the queen that she had suffered the fate of those who get second-hand news, that if she had been at the service herself she would have had it more correctly! And when some one remarked that he was not afraid to speak his mind to the queen, he said, "Why should the pleasing face of a gentlewoman make me afraid? I have looked in the faces of many angry men, and yet have not been afraid above measure."

Soon after Mary's ill-advised marriage with Darnley that royal fool condescended to attend services at St. Giles and hear Knox preach. But he was by no means pleased or edified by the discourse. He came home "crabbed," and that very night Knox was summoned before the Privy Council and interrogated concerning his sermon. He replied that he had said nothing but what was in his text. Yet he was ordered to desist from preaching while their majesties were in Edinburgh, but as they went away soon afterwards, and the prohibition was not renewed, the silence was a short one. But the most interesting thing concerning this discourse is that Knox wrote it out afterwards as well as he could from memory, and it is the only full sermon that we have from him. In the preface to the sermon (quoted by Stalker, p. 97) Knox thus writes: "Wonder not, Christian reader, that of all my study and travail within the Scriptures of God these twenty years, I have set forth nothing in expounding any portion of Scripture except this rude and indigested sermon, preached by me in the public audience of the Church of Edinburgh the day of the year above mentioned. That I did not, in writing, communicate my judgment upon the Scriptures, I have ever thought and yet think myself to have most just reason. For, considering myself rather called of my God to instruct the ignorant, comfort the sorrowful, encourage the weak, and

rebuke the proud, by tongue and lively voice, in these most corrupt days, than to compose books for the age to come, seeing that so much is written, and that by men of most singular condition, and yet so little observed, I decreed to contain myself within the bounds of that vocation whereunto I found myself especially called." We see here some of Knox's opinions of the value of preaching as a means of present influence, and also of the purposes of a ministry to which he felt himself directly called of God.

The sermon itself is worthy of the reputation of Knox, occasioning the reader no disappointment when compared with the accounts of his preaching. The text is from the prophecy of Isaiah, chap. 26, verses 13-21, "Other lords besides thee have had dominion over us, but by thee alone will we make mention of thy name," etc..

After a brief and skilfull introduction in which he compares the way in which a mariner handles his ship in a storm to the manner of the prophet in adapting his dis course to the occasion, he deduces these three thoughts: (1) Sometimes the prophet simply pours forth complaints over the existing evils and trials, as in verses 13, 17, 18; (2) Sometimes he resists the tempest and denounces the enemies of God; (3) Sometimes he urges patience and promises deliverance. The sermon does not separate sharply these thoughts, as the passage of Scripture itself does not, but rather mingles them as they come up in the exposition, which follows the order of the text. Yet in the main the three thoughts appear as the groundwork of the discourse. I. COMPLAINT, verse 13. 1. He explains the meaning of the prophet. (1) Whence authority comes. (2) To what end authority is appointed of God. 2. He makes application to existing conditions. What God requires of kings and others whom he has put in authority. (1) Knowledge of God himself. (2) A willing mind to obey God's laws. Here the application is clearly made. II. DENUNCIATION. verses

14-19. Here, as in the text, the thoughts are not kept very distinct because all three are involved in this part of the passage, but he manages to declaim against the wicked here as "dead men," and to bring in a sharp admonition to tyrants. Then he turns to the comforting strains of his text and that brings him to: III. CONSOLATION. Verses 15, 16, 19-21. 1. He speaks of the tokens of divine favor, "thou hast increased the nation, etc." 2. Then he discusses the divine visitation: (1) Upon the wicked; (2) To his people. 3. He now comes (19-21) to the prophet's *reassurance* to the people. (1) He contends against despair. (2) God calls upon his people. (3) He will surely avenge them. Then the sermon concludes with a prayer.

Such is the structure of the sermon—so far as it has any, but it rather follows, as was common with Luther and Calvin and others of the time, the order of the text in an exposition in the manner of the ancient homilies. The exposition is not very close, but is accurate for the most part, and shows the reformers' instinct for keeping to the Word of God. The application is telling, not overdone, but thorough and fearless. The preacher's boldness and lack of tact are abundantly in evidence. How he could have expected a Catholic and a king—especially such an one as Henry Darnley—to be otherwise than "crabbed" upon hearing such a discourse passes belief. But in fact Knox was never bent on pleasing his auditors, and this was an occasion not to be missed to put some plain even if unwelcome truth into royal ears. He has much to say of "papistry," speaks of Ahab and Jezebel in a way that even a greater fool than Darnley could scarcely have misunderstood, and lays down the law for kings and rulers in a fashion that never could be pleasing to would-be tyrants. The style is clear, vigorous and flowing, showing power both of language and construction. We endorse the judgment of McCrie who says of the sermon: "It affords a very favorable specimen of his talents, and shows that if he had applied himself to

writing he was qualified for excelling in that department. He had a ready command of language, and expressed himself with great perspicuity, animation and force." These qualities are apparent in his *History* and other writings, which, notwithstanding his apology in the preface to this sermon, are considerable in sum. But we surely judge that his spoken style had all the swing and fervor of noble speech as distinguished from animated written discourse. A man who could write as Knox did would speak with far greater effect, if he had in addition the faculty of utterance, as we are sure he had. This sermon shows that power also, for it has the quality of fine imagination mingled with feeling. There is courage and conviction, sympathy, logic and burning earnestness. Surely if any man ever illustrated the proverbial *perfervidum ingenium Scotorum,* that man was John Knox in his preaching.

We cannot here follow the course of affairs in the sad history of Scotland during the remainder of Mary Stuart's faulty and troubled career, and after her deposition and exile. Upon the occasion of the coronation of the infant James VI. at Stirling Knox preached in the old Greyfriars' Church a notable discourse, using as a text the account of the crowning of the boy king, Joash, after the usurpation of Athaliah. One more great occasion called forth all the powers of the preacher. This was the funeral of the Good Regent Murray, who had been assassinated by a personal and political enemy. The vast assembly that gathered in St. Giles' Church, the heartfelt grief of the nation, and the long and tender friendship—only for a time interrupted—between the good earl and the faithful preacher, all made up an occasion to stir the preaching powers of Knox to a masterly effort, and he rose to the demands of the sad hour. The text was, "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord," and the discourse, we are told, "moved three thousand persons to tears." Here we see the tender side of the preacher's nature. It was there all the time, as many another incident shows, but the bold and polemic element

of his make-up was more demanded, as he thought, by the needs of his times, and is the better known characteristic of his utterance.

One often quoted description of Knox's manner of preaching in his old age has come down to us, and though well known it cannot be spared here. It is from the pen of James Melville, then a student at St. Andrew's where Knox was making an extended visit toward the end of his life. The passage from Melville's autobiography is thus quoted by Professor Cowan (p. 348): "I heard him teach the Prophecy of Daniel that summer 1571) and the winter following. I had my pen and my little book and took away such things as I could comprehend. In the opening up of his text he was moderate the space of half an hour; but when he entered to application he made me so to grow and tremble that I could not hold a pen to write. . . . . I saw him every day of his doctrine (i. e., during his teaching) go hulie and fear (slow and wary) with a furring of martricks about his neck, a staff in one hand, and good godly Richard Bannatyne, his servant, holding up the other, from the Abbey to the parish Kirk; and by the said Richard and another servant lifted up to the pulpit, where he behooved to lean on his first entry. But ere he had done with his sermon he was so active and vigorous that he was like to ding that pulpit in blads and flee out of it."

In sum, as a preacher Knox had from God the native and indescribable gift of oratory—he spoke so as to move the feelings, arouse the wills, and mould the characters of men; he had the backing of a strong and sturdy character, splendid courage, and a masterful energy; he had the inward power of a real conversion to God, spiritual experience, and deep and abiding sense of his call and of the truth of his message, he had the talent of language, the easy and fluent utterance needed for his task; and he used it all "as ever in his great Taskmaster's eye."

GLADSTONE AS JOHN MORLEY SAW HIM.

BY REV. L. O. DAWSON, D. D.

This paper is not intended to be the résumé of a career, nor the analysis of a character.

It is merely my purpose to say some things about Gladstone as John Morley saw him. Opinions about books vary, like opinions about anything else, but, to the thinking of many excellent judges, the most important book that 1903 gave to the world was John Morley's Life of Gladstone. They deem this true, not only because the subject itself is so attractive and fruitful, but also because of the masterly way in which the author manages his bewildering mass of materials, and because of the charm of his living, breathing sentences and paragraphs.

Mr. Morley is a man of wide literary learning, a politician and statesman with deep insight into men, parties and governments, and withal, a close personal friend and trusted lieutenant of the man who lives again before us in these briliant pages of biography.

Mr. Morley not only had the literary equipment, personal information and personal admiration necessary for his task, but he had access to all the private papers of Gladstone. He says 200,000 or 300,000 of these passed under his eye. Besides this, by special permission of royalty he had the free use of State papers ordinarly kept in secret. Then there were the multiplied speeches and addresses of this prolific orator and the close personal contact with many intimate friends and co-laborers of the Premier. With all this at first hand, the production of a great book was only a matter of handling materials.

When Mr. Morley first undertook the task he sought Queen Victoria's permission to use State papers, and she, remembering that Morley was a party man, said that his

work must not be done in the spirit of partizanship. In the highest sense Mr. Gladstone belonged to all England and not to any one party. In this broad spirit Morley undertook the work, and in a large measure succeeded, but it is not surprising to find here and there evidences of how hard it is for the most liberal mind to free itself entirely of all prepossessions. Still the work is neither eulogy nor panegyric. The subject acts out his great life again, and the author permits letter and diary to tell many a curious tale, and exhibit fault and foibles, puzzling alike to the world and to the biographer.

Mr. Morley says, and the reader soon finds, that the realm of Gladstone's theology is not explored for the reason that being a free thinker and skeptic, the author did not deem himself capable of justly treating this phase of the life of a man to whom religion was the chief thing of all. But so thoroughly interwoven was Gladstone's religion with all his public and private acts that it appears on every page of this work that starts out to leave it alone. Indeed, it could not be otherwise, "for," Mr. Morley insists, "Gladstone's spiritual life is the key to his entire history." "His dual nature" (religious and secular) "must," says the author, "be ever kept in mind by any one who would understand him." With him, we are reminded often "religion was paramount, and the church was the soul of the State." Mr. Morley reiterates in another place that which he calls the fundamental fact in Mr. Gladstone's history: "Political life was only a part of his religious life. It was religion that prompted his literary life. It was religious motives that through a thousand channels and avenues stirred and guided him in his whole conception of duty." Really, to an extent of which I never dreamed until I read Morley, Mr. Gladstone's religion controlled and vitally directed every phase of his life. He was not a statesman who claimed some vague connection with some sort of church, he was not a politician plus a Christian. He was a constant worshipper in the solitude of his chamber and

in the assembly of saints. He was a great preacher, a powerful evangelical force. No Bishop of his church studied with keener interest the trend of religious thought and life of his day. He was a close student of church history and doctrine, of polemical and devotional literature, a close listener to spoken, and an voracious reader of written sermons. He was a doughty defender of dogma and in campaigns when every voter was needed to insure victory he would sometimes throw his lieutenants into panic by a controversial article in some magazine on a religious topic that would alienate thousands of his supporters. Yet to him it was a natural, easy and right thing to do.

I dwell on these things not because the religious side of his life is of most interest to me, but to give due setting to Mr. Morley's oft emphasized admonition that we can only understand his life as we give prime importance to his Christianity. Really there was no religious side to his life. There was no sacred and secular to him. The secular to him was sacred. Devoutness hedged him in on every side and permeated him so that all he did and thought took its origin there. His policies were simply the effort to put into the government of a mighty empire the principles of Christianity.

In this effort he, of course, often failed. He often failed to see the real truth. In some important points he was entirely in error. He was often misunderstood by men who deem religion a lot of things to quit on one side and a lot of things to do on the other. But all the same it was with him a character and he always acted in accord with that nature.

In his diary of April 25, 1839, (then a school boy of 20) is found this entry which Mr. Morley declares to be the "biographic clue" of his life: "In practice the great end is that the love of God may become the *habit* of my soul, and particularly these things are to be sought: 1st, the spirit of love; 2nd, of self-sacrifice; 3rd, of purity; 4th, of energy."

His after life was but the elaboration of this program. He laid himself a willing and a living sacrifice upon the altar of the Lord he loved with ever deepening passion. In all his long public life no breath of scandal came near his pure and lofty nature, and of his energy, of his strenuous but well balanced industry, of his tremendous capacity for sustained work, we can form but the faintest idea.

It was this key note that made him the friend and hope of the masses of his countrymen in their struggle against the domination of privileged classes. It was this foundation upon which his career was built that made him a member of the Conservative party at first and of the Liberal party later in life. It made him the friend of the struggling Italian States, of Greece, of Roumania, of Roumelia, of Macedonia and of Armenia. It led him to take up his work from a conviction of duty. He often espoused an unpopular cause, or held on to a policy when it blistered his hands to hold, because he felt the compulsion of conscience. The contrast between himself and his successor in the leadership of the Liberal party is very marked here. I had the pleasure of seeing Lord Roseberry in the London County Council while Gladstone was yet at the helm in parliament. He was pointed out to me as the man upon whom Gladstone's mantle was to fall. Young, handsome, learned, rich, high-born, astute, he was a worthy successor. But the politics that was a mission to Gladstone was a pastime to Roseberry, and when high position grew difficult it was easy for him to fling it overboard and seek more congenial amusement as he really did. Not so with his great predecessor. He held on, not because he would not, but because he could not quit.

The gradual unfolding and growth of Gladstone's various powers is intensely interesting. His development at Eton and Oxford was slow. He was not dull, but very far from being precocious. He was not a genius, but was a well poised and prodigious worker. He was

fierce in his economy of time, gave full opportunity for needful recreation, a thing he never neglected, but mourned over an idle day as a sin against God. The mastery of Oxford's requirements was a foregone conclusion. He did not just get through. He mastered his course.

When I began reading Mr. Morley's work, I was much interested to see what wrought Gladstone's conversion from Conservative to Liberal politics, and to know at what period of his life the change occurred. I did not find it. In fact, he was never converted. The change was wrought by the slow processes of growth. The Liberalizing influence of Sir Robert Peel can be clearly seen, but Peel was not a member of the Liberal party. While never a Tory, Gladstone was for many years so much of a Conservative that he represented in Parliament the strongest kind of Tory constituencies. We can see in him later a liberal conservatism, and later a conservative liberalism, and finally an out and out, though never a radical, Liberalist. But to put one's finger on the time and place where he was stricken down on the way to some political Damascus is impossible. Near the end he said: "I have been a learner all my life—I am a learner still. I do not like changes for their own sake, but only when it is needful to change something bad to something good."

He really entered into his kingdom at the age of fifty-five when he became the leader of the Liberal party, and from that hour to the last, though often in eclipse, he was the foremost citizen of the empire, and some have said of the world.

This principle of growth made him young at eighty and gave him the power of attaching young men to him, who followed with a blind love and unquestioning faith long after the snows of many winters had whitened his massive head.

It is inevitable that popular estimates of such a man should show wide divergences of opinion.

In 1890, about eight years before the end, I chanced to

be in a car from Carlyle to Stratford with a couple of English gentlemen with whom I fell into conversation about various men and matters in their country. My American interest in Gladstone soon led me to ask what his own countrymen thought of him. I was instantly and simultaneously informed that he was an honest man and a fraud. To one of his fellow citizens he was a demagogue, to the other a demigod. The argument waxed hot and furious between the two and for ought I know continued after they left the train, but they represented the two extremes between which English opinion ranged itself. To the Tories he was a radical threatening the very foundations of the Empire. To the radicals he was a clog to the car of progress. Graham said "he was in the highest sense Liberal." Aberdeen said, "he is too obstinate." Palmerston said, "he is dangerous." Frederick Rogers said, "he lacks judgment." Lowe declared him "judicious in a most marked degree." "His will is the law of his party," said some. "Never was a man more influenced by the opinion of his colleagues," said others. "He is a dictator," declared the Conservatives. "He is a leader most wise in council," answered the Liberals. "The essence of hypocrisy," sneered not a few. "He is a great Christian," is the way Salisbury, the rival of his latter days, summed up his character and life.

All this was natural enough. The man's life moved in a tremendous circle and his contemporaries saw only parts of it. It is easier for us, removed to a distance from the turmoil of State and church politics to see how these various estimates were possible.

It is curious to note how people who differed as the poles from each other regarded him as the peculiar hope and stay of their people. When sick, Spurgeon, the Baptist Bishop of the great Tabernacle Church, wrote to assure him of the prayers of himself and people for the preservation of a life which meant so much to them in their struggle for religious liberty and at the same time the Catholic Cardinal wrote of his petitions to a

throne of grace that God might spare one whose life was so needful to his church.

He was a rigid churchman, and yet the non-conformists of England clung to him with the passionate hope of those who had no other helper. In the midst of hard fought campaigns he would sometimes alienate his Catholic supporters by some terrific onslaught on the papacy, yet he was the hope of English and Irish Catholicism. There were times when he put in motion stern measures of repression in Ireland, but he was to the last the trusted Savior of the Emerald Isle. The Church of England had no Bishop in his day more jealous of her honor or more capable in defending it, and yet he was at times the peculiar aversion of the authorities of established churches, and through their influence, lost his seat in Parliament as the representative of the Oxford constituencies, when it seemed to them that he was tending too far toward the liberalism of the day. The infidels, skeptics and free thinkers of the nation pinned their faith to him, and yet no man of his generation, by voice and pen and life, dealt them more terrific blows. A curious example of this is found in the devotion of Mr. Morley to the great chief whom he describes in this book, which must remain the masterpiece of the author's life.

If time permitted, it would be profoundly interesting to observe the contemporaries with whom this star shone in the sky of his century. There were many of the first magnitude among them. He outlived his friends, and with their children fought in the forefront of battle. He outlived the children and became the progressive, agressive and strenous leader of the grand-children of the men with whom he began life. He saw the scattered States of the old Latin peninsula cemented into the kingdom of Italy by Cavour, Victor Immanuel and Garibaldi. He saw the unification of Germany under the iron hand of Bismark. He held England still amid the revolutions and counter-revolutions of her nearest neighbor, he saw the *coup d'etat,* the rise, reign and ruin of the third

Napoleon. He watched with keenest interest the storm of fire and blood in America, gave the Confederacy his sympathies and lived to admit this as one of the most serious mistakes of his life, though he never lost his love for Lee, his admiration for Lincoln, nor his contempt for some of their advisers.

Melbourne, Peel, Palmerston, Bright, Cobden, Mill, Salisbury, Roseberry, Chamberlain, Balfour, some wide apart in time, were all his fellow workers. A mere roll of scientists, authors, churchmen and soldiers in the nations of the world who were his personal friends would itself fill the space allotted to this paper. But I may not pass Disraeli by. The relation between these two giants is too full of interest to allow the bare mention of his name. For many years they were the keenest rivals. Their entrance into parliament was not so far apart. Gladstone was successful in his first campaign, Disraeli came in only after repeated failures. Gladstone's first speech was well received. Disraeli sat down after his first effort amid a storm of laughter and jeers, only to rise, while hot with rage, to utter that famous prophecy, "the time will come when you will hear me." They became leaders of the opposing parties, the one loved, the other feared by his followers. Alike they were literary men. They were each partisans. They were both politicians attaining to the stature of statesmen. They were each the delight and dread of the House of Commons. Each had a world wide view of men and matters, each knew the English temperament. But men more dissimilar would be hard to find. Disraeli preferred to attain an end by circuitous routes even when a straight road led to the goal. He was called a man of mystery and nicknamed "Dizzy." His methods were tortuous, his measures were marvels of legerdemain. He worked behind a mask. He knew a rising from a receding tide. He understood when, where and how to seize popular opinion and ride to overwhelming triumph. In a remarkable degree he had the power of forecast. His invective in

speech was fearful, his sarcasm bit, his irony stung.

Gladstone's mind was so transparent that his enemies knew where to lay traps for him. He could not guage public opinion so well as his great antagonist, or rather he did not concern himself so much about it, but with unheard of mental, physical and heart power created public opinion. Where Disraeli won by strategy, Gladstone conquered by the marshaling of overwhelming force. Disraeli enjoyed nothing more than to trap an adversary, while Gladstone would drown his opponents with a torrent of eloquence, logic and sheer force of character and will. The chief element in Disraeli was a wonderful mind untrammeled by feeling. The power of Gladstone lay in mighty convictions speaking through a mind whose power of concentration was the wonder of the day. I cannot help noting a singular thing that occurred in 1867. Largely by Gladstone's force, a popular demand was made for a wide extension of the suffrage. While the movement was growing Disraeli and the Conservatives fought it with all the power at their command. When the clamor grew so great that further resistance was seen impossible Disraeli adopted the measure as his own, attacked Gladstone with his own weapons and overwhelmed him in defeat.

"The most wonderful thing," said Bishop Wilberforce, "is the rise of Disraeli. He has been able to teach the House of Commons to almost ignore Gladstone, and at present lords it over him, and, I am told, says he will hold him down for the next twenty years." Upon the retirement of Derby about this time (early in 1868), Disraeli became the Prime Minister of England, the chief figure among the rulers of the world. After prolonged conflicts against impediments of all kinds he became by the very force of genius "one of the most imposing figures of his generation." For sixteen years he had struggled with his formidable rival over whom he now triumphed so gloriously.

This was in February. On the 30th of April, two

months later, Mr. Gladstone defeated Disraeli in a test vote in the House of Commons. The Conservative leader dissolved Parliament and appealed to the Country. The Liberals were overwhelmingly victorious at the polls, and in December Gladstone was the Prime Minister of the Queen and the Ruler of her Empire. He was now sixty years old. Disraeli's star rose again a half-dozen years later (in 1874). In the general elections of that year Gladstone's party was beaten, and the great leader himself while securing his seat from his constituency ran behind the handsome vote of a Conservative distiller who was sent to Parliament from the same borough along with the Commoner to oppose his policies. Disraeli was master again, and for a term of years administered the affairs of the nation with a brilliancy unsurpassed since the day of Pitt.

But the Midlothian campaign was coming. Disraeli was in the saddle riding fast and hard. His brilliant and spectacular foreign policy gave Gladstone his opportunity. We are told of a speech in the House of Commons with which the Liberal leader electrified the nation. A great debate followed, but on a test vote, Disraeli still triumphed over his opponents. Gladstone, however, rung the changes on the coloring given the famous Congress of Berlin through secret agreements made by Disraeli with Russia and Turkey, and though the Premier's genius still held sway, he was forced by Gladstone to appeal to the country in a general election. The people of Midlothian secured Gladstone's consent to stand for election in their borough. On a bleak winter day, he went up from London to Edinburg to begin his campaign. He was now seventy years old. Thousands thronged the stations through which he passed, and hundreds lined the railroad track between, just to see his train pass by. Nothing like it had ever before been seen in England. He spoke to multitudes at Carlyle, and to other multitudes at Hawick. Bareheaded, in cold, raw air, this youth of seventy made a veritable host hear him at

Galashiels. When he reached Edinburgh the streets through which he passed were lined with struggling, cheering masses of humanity. This on the way to begin the campaign. During its progress crowds, which no building could hold, flocked to hear him. His voice, so musical that even his opponents were sorry when he ceased speaking, as if some sweet song were hushed, was yet so strong that many thousands could hear it in open air, and no hall was too great to be filled by its harmony. His appeal to reason, right, fact, mind, heart and consicence was irresistible. He was himself aflame with what he believed to be the highest good of England. Measured, temperate and admirably self-controlled, he stirred the constituency of Midlothian from Edinburgh to Glasgow to the profoundest depths. But more, he was speaking to the nation. The Empire heard and hung upon his words. One, two, three, a half-dozen great speeches, with processions, dinners and all manner of politico-social functions between, this was the day's work for this young man of three score and ten summers.

Here is a picture of the orator (not only in this campaign, but at all times) drawn by the hand of an inveterate and peristent foe. "Sir, I can only tell you that, profoundly as I distrusted him, and lightly as on the whole I valued the external qualities of his eloquence, I have never listened to him for a few minutes without ceasing to marvel at his influence over men. That white, hot face, stern as a Covenanter's, yet mobile as a Comedian's; those restless, flashing eyes; that wondrous voice; the masterly cadence of his elocution; the vivid energy of his attitudes; the fine animation of his gestures. Sir, when I am assailed through eye and ear by this compacted phalanx of assailants, what wonder that the stormed outposts of the senses should spread the contagion of their own surrender through the main encampment of the mind, and that against my judgment, in contempt, nay, in defiance of my very will, I should exclaim, 'This is indeed the voice of truth and wisdom. This man is honest and

sagacious beyond his fellows. He must be believed, he must be obeyed.' '' If this was the effect of his speech upon an enemy, can we measure his influence over those who loved and trusted him?

"When the climax of the election came," says Mr. Morley, "Disraeli's majority had melted away and Gladstone had a nation at his back." When the returns were all in, the throngs went mad with joy, and deep into the night bon-fires, illuminations, fireworks, and much else, gave frenzied expression to the delight of the populace.

Disraeli, in the historic halls of Hatfield, received hour by hour the news of the long train of disasters that had befallen him. One who saw much of him at this moment, says that the fallen Minister who had counted on a different result, now faced the ruin of his government, the end of his carrer, and the overwhelming triumph of his life-long antagonist with an unclouded serenity, and a greatness of mind worthy of a man who had known high fortunes and filled to the full the measure of his gifts and ambitions."

As for Gladstone, after speaking to a crowd of fifteen thousand jubilating friends from the windows of the Roseberry mansion where he was stopping, he wrote these words in his dairy: "The result is quite satisfactory. No less than wonderful has been the guiding hand of God in all this matter."

For us it is of interest to note that this man of seventy years was young still with a great future before him.

This was the begining of his second administration as Premier. England was to witness its great achievements for six years, and then the Parliament overthrew his government on its Irish policy. He appealed to the Country according to custom, and lost by a considerable majority, though holding of course, his own seat as usual. This was in June, 1885.

Disraeli dead, Salisbury rules. In eight short months Gladstone had him completely unhorsed and was Premier again. But England was passing through the nightmare

of the Irish question, and within six months again turned Gladstone out, and this time kept him out from midsummer '86, till August 15, 1892, when for the fourth and last time he became the Ruler of the Empire. He was now eighty-three. Many things pressed him. The arduous task of governing so vast a multitude in widely separated parts of the world did not consume all his energy. He reads everything. He writes profusely. He makes translations of the classics. He enters into literary discussions through magazines; a world-wide correspondence receives scrupulous attention; theological treatises still come from his pen; he is still the foremost debater in and the most constant attendant upon the sessions of Parliament, the passion of the orator still burns and blazes, and the fierce energy of the doer is unabated. The spirit of the man was never younger, but two years later, in 1894, the body showed signs of weakening. Eyes and ears began to fail. In the plentitude of power, enjoying the confidence of Queen and nation and world, he voluntarily resigned his high office, and at 85 retired from public life.

The original purpose of this paper included a brief mention of three of Gladstone's typical political campaigns, some account of his most famous Parliamentary battles, something of his domestic life, and the highly interesting relations between himself and the Queen.

Let it suffice to say that four more years remained in which he enjoyed the well-earned rest of a quiet, peaceful, contented retirement, though these, also, were busy years, for he could not help working. At the age of 89 the final scene came. A whole world bared its head and bowed in grief at his grave.

Many years before he had said: "Be inspired with the belief that life is a great and noble calling; not a mean and grovelling thing that we are to shuffle through as we can, but an elevated and lofty destiny."

"Nowhere did he detect so great a gift as this: God's own—of human life," and few men ever used that gift to better purpose.

BOOK REVIEWS.

I. NEW TESTAMENT.

St. Paul's Conception of the Last Things.

By the Rev. H. A. A. Kennedy, M. A., D. S. A. C. Armstrong & Son. New York. Pp. XI, 370. Price $2.25 net.

In this work, based on his "Cunningham Lectures," Dr. Kennedy gives to the world a thorough discussion of the important topic in Biblical Theology which is named in its title. Its thoroughness is suggested by a statement of its extent. It is more than half as large as Professor Stevens's "Theology of the New Testament," and decidedly larger than the same author's comprehensive discussion of the whole of "The Pauline Theology," in which only twenty-nine pages are given to the topic which here receives three hundred and fifty-one. Another proof of thoroughness in treatment will be found by a mere glance at the various indexes, which together occupy no less than eighteen double-column pages, of which nine are devoted to the Index of the Subjects alone. One hundred and eighty different authors quoted or discussed, frequently with a consideration of an important interpretation or conception, which even though brief is sufficient to set it out, and even to controvert it. Complete and valuable as are the indexes, they suggest the one point relating to theme treated, in which this book is deficient, or which it at least leaves to be supplied. The author would have laid us all under increased obligations, had he added, as doubtless he could have done with comparative ease, a list of all the books quoted, which, if he did not care to go farther, would of itself have constituted a relatively complete bibliography.

This work is an exceedingly valuable contribution to New Testament theology, although it would be manifestly impracticable to treat the whole domain of the science on

this scale. And while Biblical theology is strictly a statement of the theological conceptions found in the Bible, Dr. Kennedy precedes this statement with a development of the processes by which his results are attained, and, further, of the influences which in any way helped Paul to reach and shape his conclusions as to the last things. As the author well says, "The profoundest spiritual genius is, to some extent, the product of his surroundings. This fact in no sense collides with a genuine inspiration; for the divine Spirit never works, so far as his operations are disclosed to us, independently of human thought" (p. 58). Hence the great value of the chapter on "Formative Influences," setting forth the influence (1) of the Old Testament, (2) of Judaism, (3) of St. Paul's Christian experience, and (4) the Christian tradition of the eschatology of Jesus.

The four chief chapters of the book are devoted to a consideration, respectively, of Life and Death, of the Parousia and the Judgment, of the Resurrection, and of the Consummation of the Kingdom of God. In these chapters Paul's conceptions are subjected to a treatment at once minutely exegetical and broadly synthetic. The results are, as has been said, set in their relations to all the influences which are known to have affected him, and are tested in the light of all the scholarship bearing on the subject. And the sum of the whole matter is the confirmation of the views which have been held longest and most widely as to the substance of Paul's teaching. The author does not set out to confirm "the orthodox tradition," as it might be styled, any more than he sets out to find something novel and hitherto unrecognized in Paul's doctrine. But we may sum up his conclusions by saying, in a word, that the old views are, with scarce anywhere an exception, the true views.

To attempt in such a review as this to summarize the conclusions of the author would be difficult, indeed impossible, as also such a bare summary would inevitably be unfair to him. It may, however, be helpful to quote a

few sentences culled here and there as illustrative of the temper of the author and of the spirit in which he approaches his work: "In the strictest sense, indeed, the apostle has no system of psychology. And it is vain to attempt to construct one." (p. 56.) "It would be absurd to deny the contact between Judaism, on the one hand, and Babylonian and Persian influences on the other, . . . but epoch-making conceptions like the one before us [resurrection] cannot be interchanged like counters." (p. 64.) "Paul is often cited in modern books as an authority for views which he would not have understood, as a witness to theories foreign to his entire method of thought." (p. 95.) "Students of New Testament theology during the past decade have grown weary of the endless, and it must be said, somewhat uninspiring discussions which have centered round the idea of the kingdom of God. The teaching of Jesus has had frequently to suffer violence that it might square with the pet theory of theologians." (p. 282.) "Baptism is indeed a vivid picture or illustration of the saving process. On the one hand, it sets forth the unseen experiences which are attained through faith. As the baptized person is plunged out of sight in the water, and then rises out of the cleansing element a member of the Christian community, so does the believer, who by faith appropriates the benefits of Christ's atoning death and resurrection, pass out of contact with the sinful life of the flesh annulled on the cross, and rise in fellowship with the risen Lord to newness of life in the Spirit. But obviously, the picture also symbolizes the relation of the believer to the Spirit. For all that has happened to him in the experience of salvation, his death to sin (immersion beneath the water), and his entrance upon a new life (emergence from the water), is really accomplished for him in response to his faith, accomplished by the divine operation." (pp.151, 152.) "It appears to us that Hebrew thought was more in accord with the sanest scientific speculation than Hellenic, in that it postulated some type

of embodiment of the personality, whether now or in a future life." (pp. 260, 261.) D. F. ESTES.

The Religion of the New Testament.

By Professor Bernhard Weiss, of the University of Berlin, Translated from the German by Professor George H. Schadde, Ph.D. Funk & Wagnalls Company. New York, 1905. Pp. XI, 440. Price $2.00 net.

In his preface, Professor Weiss thus sets forth the aim of this book: "Fifty years ago I began my academic career in Königsberg with a lecture on the relation of exegesis to biblical theology. The programme that I then developed in the comparatively new science of biblical theology has been fully elaborated in my text-book on that subject, of which the seventh edition has made its appearance. In the same address the fact was emphasized that the purely historical account of the different types of doctrine furnished by a theology of the New Testament must be supplemented by a work giving the underlying unity of this diversity. This idea I had never lost sight of during my university work of half a century; and I do not wish to close my academic jubilee year without its consummation. This is done in the present volume, which is intended not for the learned alone, but for all thinking Christians."

Quite as much as the author probably was aware, his work on New Testament theology has been keenly criticized as "the purely historical account of the different types of doctrine," and not for thirty-five years has he undertaken to show the unity as well as the diversity, and unfortunately now that it is done it is not combined with his previous work.

In method it might appear on a casual turning of its pages that the author of this book had forgotten the very existence of Biblical Theology, which has succeeded so greatly in vanishing the old "textual" method of theological study. On closer study it will appear that in reality if not in form he uses the method of Biblical Theology, and that the verses cited are never used in

unconsciousness of their original setting and sense, still less in disregard of them, but rather with scrupulous regard thereto.

In the four chapters of the Introduction the point which most will first seek is the author's view of the place of the Bible. His real position may not at once be apprehended by all, for his greatest stress seems to be laid on his antagonism to the old idea of a "mechanical," miraculous revelation, such as would carry with itself the "dictation" theory of inspiration. It will not be difficult for some who are in sympathy with the old ideas to feel that all the value of scripture is lost under the treatment of the author, and on the other hand some of these who claim to be "modern" in their refusal to accept the Scriptures as a complete and final rule of faith and practice, may easily fancy that the venerable Berlin theologian stands with them. But to him the whole Bible may be rightly called the Word of God (p. 52); they are what they are because of revelation; they are unique, and "those who according to the purpose of God were called to transmit to us the records of the perfect revelation of redemption were especially called and prepared for this purpose by God," (p. 55); they possess "normative character" (p. 71); indeed the author speaks of "the absolute perfection of the Scriptures" (p. 60).

Space, of course, will not permit the following in detail of the author's treatment of all the doctrines of Christianity, or of many of them. It may be interesting to note the emphasis with which he declares, over against all Ritschlian notions, that "the worship of the exalted Christ as God was possible for the monotheistic conscience only in case this Son was regarded as equal to God from eternity" (p. 187). In the chapter on "The Significance of Christ's Death for Redemption," we read, "If, however, notwithstanding the mission of Jesus was to attain success, then a new means of atonement had to be found, that would render the forgiveness of sin possible (Matt. XXVI. 28); and if God had suffered that the

wickedness of His enemies secure its end, because this served the purposes of this redemptive plan, then only His blood, that was shed in His violent death, could be such a means of atonement" (p. 224). The author first relates the atoning value of the death of Christ to the forgiveness of sins, which he treats out of all relation to penalty, but then, in the next section, adds the thought that this death is a ransom that Jesus has paid, which enables God to relieve man of the state of punishment which God by virtue of His righteousness had to impend over man (pp. 228, 229). In reference to baptism he writes, "The church substituted in the application of the rite sprinkling instead of immersion" (p. 284), and, "It is a matter of no doubt that in the New Testament times only adults were baptized, as all the statements made concerning baptism presupposed that this rite was administered to adults" (p. 283), although there follows a page of special pleading to justify the baptism of infants. In his discussion of the judgment, Professor Weiss says: "The fact that this judgment is final in its character makes it impossible that in some way or other all men are to be saved" (p. 422), and "It can only be based on a misunderstanding of the Scriptures if their statements concerning the eternal character of the punishment in hell are found irreconcilable with the love of God" (p. 425).

The reviewer has noted little from which he cares formally to dissent, though in a work of such range it cannot but be that on many points others would prefer other phrasing and emphasis than the author's, and would find themselves, though in close harmony with him in general view, yet differing here and there in details of conception. One declaration, however, may not be ignored without protest. Professor Weiss says: "It is perfectly useless by exegetical and critical means to get rid of the fact that Jesus had promised His return to the generation of His day" (p. 412), though he adds "certainly, too, is it wrong to speak of a mistake on the

part of Jesus or even of a self-deception in reference to the success of His work" (p. 413). This the reviewer must regard as an unjustifiable assertion, not warranted by the passages cited (Mark IX. I; XIV. 62; Matt. XXIV. 34), and still less in harmony with the general teaching of Jesus.

It must be recognized that the translator has unfortunately not performed his difficult task in a manner beyond criticism and regret. In fact, the book is hard reading even for one familiar with German, and many sentences must be almost unintelligible to those who lack such familiarity. The sentence on page 412, beginning, "Jesus could," is incomprehensible in its lack of grammative sequence. Again it is more than doubtful whether "The Godship of the Son" makes as good a chapter heading as would the familiar phrase, "The Deity of the Son." But in spite of any defects we thank Professor Schadde for the pains he has taken to render accessible in English this crowning work of a German theologian who has scarce his peer.

D. F. Estes.

The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia and their Place in the Plan of the Apocalypse.

By W. M. Ramsey, D. C. L., L. L. D., Professor of Humanity in the University of Aberdeen. A. C. Armstrong & Son. 1905.

Prof. Ramsay has earned the rare distinction of having made real and lasting contributions to New Testament learning. The ripe scholarship of Prof. Ramsay as the foremost student in geography and history of Asia Minor invited him to the study of Asiatic Christianity. Hence came the cities and bishoprics of Phrygia and later the church in the Roman Empire. But such a preparation pointed inevitably to Paul and Paul the Traveller is one of the great lives of the apostle. The

historical commentary on Galatians showed how geographical and historical knowledge could illumine the text of Scripture and give us a new type of commentary. But there was still a great service that Prof. Ramsay had to perform. The Fathers and the Seven Churches in the Book of Revelation have been loaded, well nigh covered up, with comment, much of which did not help the reader. Prof. Ramsay diligently and seriously endeavors to interpret those letters in the terms of Asiatic life at the end of the first century and he has produced a revolutionary volume. He definitely turns away from the Neronic date and interpretation, so long common in Germany, and returns to the Domitianic date plainly advocated by Irenaeus. But he does more. He cuts loose from all schemes of interpretation that have in view the whole course of history or even the Roman Catholic Church. He sees chiefly the Roman Empire and the Province of Asia as the embodiment of that Empire as the great enemies of Christianity when the book of Revelation was written. The Emperor cult was now dominant in Asia. Prof. Ramsay gives numerous cuts in proof of this fact in each of the seven cities to which the letters were addressed. He urges that the letters have in mind the cities as well as the churches. The history of each city, so far as is known, is used to throw light on the language of the Apocalypse and with wonderful results. It canot be hoped that every point made by Prof. Ramsay in such a new field will stand, but it is certain that much of what he has said is true, and no student of the Apocalypse can afford to pass by this remarkable volume. It will upset many theories of the Book of Revelation, but that may be one of its chief merits. If at last we may come to more solid ground in the interpretation of Revelation, Prof. Ramsey will have immortalized himself. The book is properly and handsomely illustrated. A. T. Robertson.

Das Leben Jesu Christi, Von Dr. Konrad Furrer, Zweite umgearbeitete Auflage.

Von J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig, Germany. Müller, Werder & Co., Zürich, Switzerland. To be had of Lemcke & Büchner, 11 East 17th Street, New York. 1905. M. 3. S. 261.

This is the second edition of a very readable life of Christ, free from technical or critical apparatus. The author laments the ignorance of the career of Jesus on the part of the people. He undertakes to give the historical and real Christ so that the reader may enter into sympathy with his sufferings and work. He treats only the humanity of Jesus and leaves it open to doubt whether Jesus was really divine. He does call Christ God's "liebster Sohn" (S. 260), but he could be that and not differ radically in essence from the other children of God. Besides Dr. Furrer's last chapter is called Gethsemane and Golgotha. He does not even discuss the Resurrection and Ascension! He does indeed consider Christ still "eine lebendige Persönlichkeit einer höherer Wirklichkeit" (S. 260), but by this he appears to mean only that the spirit of Jesus, his real personality, survives death and the grave. It is a disappointment not to get a more positive note from Zürich where Dr. Furrer is both pastor and professor, for Schmiedel is in Zürich and certainly an antidote to his vagaries is needed. Dr. Furrer properly scouts the Roman Catholic claims as to Matt. 16:18. Apart from the defective conception of the career of Jesus the book has many real excellencies as a popular treatise. Certainly all knowledge of Jesus will do good. Dr. Furrer has a vigorous style and has a happy combination of the pastor-professor. A. T. Robertson.

Jesus von Nazareth, Eine Prüfung seiner Gottheit.

Von Dr. W. Capitaine, G. J. Manz, Buch und Kunstdruckerei Regensburg, Germany. 1905. S. 192. To be had of Lemcke & Buechner, 11 East 17th Street, New York.

This is not a critical work and comes out with the

imprimatur of the Roman Catholic Church, in striking contrast to the condemnation of the writings of Abbé Loisy expressly mentioned (S. 143). There is no great originality in the volume, though it has the merit of clearness of style and positiveness of tone. The book is designed as a comprehensive hand-book for the young who may have been disturbed by the critical discussions of the present day. Many of the arguments are somewhat irrelevant and not conclusive as the appeal to the apocryphal books. The Scriptural argument is meager in comparison with the rest of the volume and the author does not meet modern radical criticism save by the statement of the opposite. The author counts rather than weighs his arguments. But it is a wholesome sight to see so positive a note sounded in Germany, even if we cannot accept all the proof of the great truth for which the book contends. A. T. Robertson.

Das Selbstbewustsein Jesu nach den drei ersten Evangelien.

Von Privatdozent Lic. Rich. A. Hoffmann. Thomas und Oppermann. Königsburg, Germany. 1904. To be had also from Lemcke & Buechner, 11 East 17th Street, New York.

This "Vortrag in theologischen Ferienkursus zu Königsberg" contains 29 pages and was delivered Oct. 13, 1904. This theme continues to be a favorite one with German writers, though the present pamphlet is confined to the Synoptics. Christ's conception of his mission is the heart of the Messianic question, the vital issue between him and the Jewish authorities. The book strikingly calls the consciousness of his Missiahship "the nerve of the self-consciousness of Jesus" (S. 8). The problem is how he could have it without sharing in the political ideals of the people of the time who identified the kingdom of heaven with their political hopes (S. 8). The author takes the view (S. 12) that kingdom of heaven is equivelant to kingdom of God in the mouth of Jesus

since the Jews avoided the Son of God so much. Judaism has always had "a religious world view" (S. 13). The oldest commentary to the claim of Jesus to be the Son of David is his own question: "What think ye of the Christ? Whose Son is he?" (S. 28). And Jesus was received as a descendent of David, the original Christianity (as in Paul, the Acts, Revelation). The book is clear and strong.

A. T. Robertson.

The Devotional and Practical Commentary. Epistle to the Ephesians.

By Joseph Parker. A. C. Armstrong & Son. New York. $1.25 net.

This volume is *devotional* in the sense that it breathes a deep reverence and moral earnestness in view of the relation to the God of eternity. It is *practical* in the sense that it treats practical questions in a thoroughly manly and religious way and appeals to the conscience on moral issues in a manner likely to produce conviction and action. It is a *commentary* in the sense that it connects its teachings with the Scriptures in the way of comment on these Scriptures and usually with an accurate and incisive interpretation of the Scripture, though it must be added that this interpretation is seldom adequate. It is a commentary on *Ephesians* in the sense that the words of this epistle are chosen as the Scripture for these comments, howbeit the comments would need but slight modification to make them applicable with other parts of the Bible.

In a word if one is seeking some of the most splendid work of this great preacher, full of that enthusiasm, boldness, imagination, rhetoric, and mighty exhortation for which Joseph is famous by all means let him get this book. One who has heard that great man will be able to recall and reproduce the sensations of that hearing as he reads these pages. But if one requires a commentary for the ordinary uses of exposition and suggestion he will have no time to lose with this volume of sermons.

W. O. Carver.

II. OLD TESTAMENT.

An American Commentary on the Old Testament.

The Book of Job.

By Principal J. T. Marshall, D.D., of Manchester Baptist College, England.

Ecclesiastes.

By the Same Author.

Proverbs.

By Professor George R. Berry, D.D., of Colgate University.

The Song of Songs.

By George E, Merrill, D.D., President of Colgate University.

These earliest volumes of the American Commentary on the Old Testament will be welcomed by Baptists everywhere. We have long needed a commentary on the Old Testament by modern Baptist authors. The American Baptist Publishing Society has already given us a good Commentary on the New Testament. This new Commentary on the Old Testament is being prepared for English readers. The authors are expressly limited in space in order that the Commentary when complete may not be too voluminous and expensive. It is designed to meet the needs of pastors, Sunday school teachers, and other students of the Bible. The assured results of modern scholarship are to be put in good modern English and made attractive to the general reader. The explanations of words and phrases are preceded by valuable introductions to individual books. Hebrew words are used sparingly in the Commentary, though each author is expected to do thorough work on the original text of the Scriptures. Literary and historical criticism cannot be ignored in a modern commentary, but the series is designed for pastors and Christian workers rather than for the learned world.

The three volumes which lie before us (Proverbs and the Song of Songs being bound together) make interesting reading. Each book is preceded by an instructive introduction. The results of such reading and study are put together in choice English in the briefest possible com-

pass. Even the explanatory notes and comments make intresting reading. The outlines of the various books are kept prominently before the eye, and we have found few sentences that were not intelligible at first sight. This feature of perspicuity and attractive presentation of the matter means much to the modern busy reader of the Bible. One does not feel disposed to dig in a continent of mud in order to bring forth the precious ore of Christian learning. This reviewer read President Merrill's treatment of the Song of Songs at a single sitting and found it as entertaining as a good essay in a modern review. Principal Marshall on Ecclesiastes also makes pleasant and profitable reading. The same author's introduction to the Book of Job gives in terse and vigorous English the essential matters in which students are interested. Professor Berry shows skill in his presentation of the arguments as to the date and authorship of the Book of Proverbs.

Each author has felt free to express his own personal opinion as to the date and authorship and the purpose of the book on which he is writing. Principal Marshall regards the Book of Job as composed of several strata. He thinks that Chapters 3 to 27 form the original kernel of the book. In this connection he remarks, "As for the trenchant criticism of Siegfried, Bickell, and Duhm, who, in accord with their varied preconceptions, *delete* large portions, even of these chapters, as not original, personally I have no sympathy with it." The second stratum, according to Principal Marshall, is found in Chapters 28 to 31 and 37:1 to 42:9. The third edition of the book added the speeches of Elihu, Chapters 32 to 37. The account of the heavenly council in Chapters 1 and 2 is thought by Dr. Marshall to be the last addition to the book.

As to the date, Principal Marshall thinks that the book was not composed earlier than the period of the captivity of the eastern tribes under Tiglath-Pileser (734 B. C.) nor later than the times of Malachi.

The reviewer still prefers to hold to the integrity of the book of Job, and sees no absolutely conclusive reasons for putting the composition of the book quite so late in the history of Israel. Principal Marshall has set forth the arguments of the different speakers in the book with rare skill. He has in general shown independence and sobriety of judgment.

Principal Marshall thinks that the Book of Ecclesiastes must have been written between the time of Malachi and the period of the composition of Ecclesiasticus. He remarks, "After a full examination of all the evidence, we are disposed to assign the date of the book to the period between 250 and 200 B. C." As to the purpose of the author, he says, "The ultimate design of Koheleth was to *conserve Judaism* against the inroads of Grecian civilization, luxury and vice." He thinks that the work is to a large extent autobiographical, the author having personally passed through the experiences he describes. As to the impersonation of Solomon by the author of Ecclesiastes, he remarks, "I hold that Koheleth believed himself to have been destined to some extent to live over again the life of Solomon, and thus to be qualified to speak to his contemporaries in the name of Solomon." Thus in his sad old age, "he is led to believe that he has been repeating largely in his life the experiences of Solomon, and that he has received from God a message for his generation, such as Solomon, could he have spoken, would have given when he recovered (as every Jew believed he did) from the fall occasioned by excessive indulgence." Principal Marshall quotes Delitzsch as favoring the same opinion when he says, "It is not the veritable Solomon who speaks in 1:12, but *his spirit.*" Modern opinion coincides for the most part with the view advocated by Dr. Marshall. The argument from language and style seems conclusive against the Solomonic authorship. Apart from the peculiarities of the Hebrew of Ecclesiastes, the theory of an early date for the book might still be maintained.

Professor Berry presents the arguments for the existence of many Solomonic Proverbs in our present collection. He thinks that the core of the book (10:1-22:16) was probably collected in the reign of Jehoshaphat. He opposes with good arguments the theory that the book was all written and collected in late post-exilic times, none of it being written by Solomon. He thinks that it is "exceedingly probable that at any rate the main part of the Book of Proverbs, and perhaps all of it, was written in the time before the exile." As to the poetical form, Professor Berry stands substantially by the older view that there is nothing approximating metre in the Book of Proverbs. It seems to this reviewer that a better case can be made out for a regular succession of the same number of accented syallables in a line than Professor Berry seems willing to admit.

President Merrill thinks that the Song of Songs was not written by Solomon, but by another poet living shortly after the period of that famous king. He remarks, "It may be concluded that while no certain date and no definite author can be named, the poem had its origin in the mind of some poet of northern Israel at a time not long subsequent to the division of the kingdom." He thinks that the key to the book is found in the refrain,

> "I adjure you, O daughters of Jerusalem,
> By the roes and by the hinds of the field,
> That ye stir not up, nor awaken love,
> Until it please."

He adds, "Such love as this is the theme of the Song, a love as natural in its spontaneity and as true in its expression as that which the wild creatures of the forests and mountains show, subject to none of the artificialities of human conventions, free from the excesses and intrigues of courts, simple and true as God meant it to be; strong as death.

Many waters cannot quench love,
Neither can the floods drown it;
If a man would give all the substance of his house
for love,
He would utterly be contemned.

This is the author's theme. He sets it forth with wonderful skill. He depicts the faithfulness of a pledged love amid all the blandishments of Solomon's harem. With a boldness unexampled he imagines a village maiden of marvellous beauty who dares to repulse the king."

He thinks that neither the allegorical nor the typical theory was in the mind of the author. While recognizing the analogy between the love of husband and wife and the love of the soul to Christ, he thinks that this was not in the thought of the author, and that in general we shall "do better to win from its words only the natural, simple, and healthful lesson of the beauty, the rightfulness of a pure human affection, a love that was as truly instituted by God as any law of our being, and that it is as sacred as any religious emotion."

President Merrill identifies the daughters of Jerusalem with the members of Solomon's harem. He gives a new arrangement of the poem, which will perhaps satisfy in all its details nobody except its author. In saying this we do not mean to reflect upon the literary skill of our author, for the same statement could be made concerning every other arrangement of the poem by previous critics and commentators. Truly the Song of Songs is "the enigma of the Old Testament."

III. CHURCH HISTORY.

What is History? Five Lectures on the Modern Science of History.

By Karl Lamprecht, Ph. D., L.L.D., Professor of History in the University of Leipzig. Translated from the German by E. A. Andrews. Pp. 3-227. The Macmillan Co. 1905.

As is well known, Professor Lamprecht is the founder

and head of a new and peculiar school of historical science which seeks to study and present historical facts and development from the standpoint of psychological causes found in the individual and in society. History is applied, or practical psychology, a study of the human spirit rather than human actions, "primarily a socio-psychological science." Actions must be studied of course but only as illustrative and confirmatory material. According to Prof. Lamprecht, this is modern historical science, the only modern historical science. His theories and work have been strongly opposed by what he calls the "political historians," led by the historians of the University of Berlin. The controversy has been sharp, not to say bitter.

An invitation to speak before the Congress of Arts and Sciences in St. Louis last fall afforded the distinguished professor an excellent opportunity to explain and defend his views. This he did in an address on "Historical Development and Present Character of the Science of History." This was followed by other addresses intended to illustrate his theories from German history and delivered on the occasion of the celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Columbia University of New York. It is explained in the preface that "the author felt that in his work on the 'History of Germany' he had carried his investigations far enough into the different culture-epochs to justify him in formulating and presenting to the public his ideas as to the content of history and the true method of writing it." "Another incentive was given in the literature of recent psychological science, particularly in Von Lipp's 'Outlines of Psychology,' a book which seemed to invite a further application of the laws of psychology to the science of history."

The author has been working at German history for twenty years along these lines, and thoroughly believes that his method is the only one that is likely to survive in the future. All former historical writing has been largely

surface work; he penetrates to the heart of things. These lectures are interesting and important as an attempt on the part of the author to set forth and illustrate his views of history. But in my opinion they will not recommend his method. It is too subjective and arbitrary, too abstruse and complex. Psychical phenomena are too elusive and uncertain to form the basis of historical science. We shall be compelled to content ourselves largely with the account of accomplished facts. At the same time every historian knows that accomplished facts are a very small part of real life, and Lamprecht is doing a great work in seeking to lead historians away from politics as the only human activity worth consideration and back to the life of the people in its entirety, its reality. It should be the historian's aim as far as possible to reproduce the inner and outer life of the people as it actually was. This is a most difficult task and Lamprecht's subjective method is likely to err as far on one side as the older historians erred on the other.

These lectures are most difficult reading. It is a good example of a very bad tendency to transfer German compounds into English. Such compounds, while perfectly intelligible in German, are repugnant to the genius of the English language and ought not to be tolerated. If a man can not translate a German book into intelligible English he ought not to undertake it; if he can translate it, he ought to be ashamed to present such work to the English reading public. It reminds me of Prof. Harnack's remark concerning a German translation of the fragments of Celsus found in Origen. "Gentlemen," he said, "if you will compare the original Greek you can probably get a little sense out of the translation." Such a remark would doubtless be somewhat too severe on this translation, but it is a fair specimen of some very loose work that is being inflicted on a long suffering public.

W. J. McGlothlin.

The Progress of Hellenism in Alexander's Empire.

By John Pentland Mahaffy, C.V.O., D.D., D.D.L. Chicago. University of Chicago Press. 1905. Pp. 3-154. Price $1.00 net.

This book consists of six lectures delivered in the University of Chicago in the summer of 1904. Their scope is broader than the title might indicate. They treat of the progress of Greek influences upon the entire territory covered by Alexander's empire down to the beginning of the Christian era, and not simply during the existence of that empire. The author begins with an interesting chapter on Zenophon as the precursor of Hellenism. He points out the fact that Zenophon's extensive acquaintance with other peoples and nations, acquired through travel, made him cosmopolitan, and implanted in him the ideas and methods that were afterwards realized in the later Greek history. In the second lecture the relation and condition of the Greeks and Macedonians during the conquests of Philip and Alexander and the domination of subsequent kings down to the Roman occupation of Macedonia and Greece are treated very satisfactorily. The history of this period is very complex and I have found no more illuminating brief treatment than this of Prof. Mahaffy.

In the third and fourth lectures the author deals with the other two great fragments of Alexander's Empire, Egypt and Syria. Concerning the Syrian Empire of the Seleucids he gives us little that is new, but his treatment of Egypt under the Ptolemies is very satisfactory.

The fifth lecture consists of some "General Reflections on Hellenism," in which the author points out the effects of later Greek culture on literature, chiefly through Alexandria, on the arts, architecture, the sciences, and the luxuries and habits of living.

In the final lecture he discusses Hellenistic influences on Christianity. This is the most unsatisfactory chapter in the book. The author's love of the Greeks has led him to ascribe far too much influence to Hellenism. Many

of the most characteristic features of Christianity, and especially Protestant Christianity, he ascribes to the Stoicism imbibed by Paul in the Greek schools of Tarsus. He assumes that Phariseeism, the distinctive Jewish type of the time, was the only Judaism that Paul knew, forgetting the universal teachings of the prophets who had gone before. He forgets that Paul everywhere declares his teaching to flow from Jesus Christ and the Old Testament. The author actually traces this Stoicism through Leo the Isaurian to Wallachia and Moldavia, thence to Moravia and Bohemia where it produces John Huss and Jerome of Prague and eventually reaches Western Europe, producing the Protestant Reformation, p. 145. Nothing could be further from the facts. Loserth has proven beyond question that Huss and the Bohemian Reformation were the direct result of John Wycliffe's teachings. Moreover the Hussite movement had little if any influence on the Lutheran and Calvinistic Reform. It is true that Christianity was very quickly and profoundly affected by Hellenism, but it is not true that its great doctrines were drawn from that source. Professor Mahaffy is eminently qualified by long years of study and teaching Greek history and literature to write such a compendium as this. He is always interesting and instructive. The student of Greek or of Christian history will find these lectures most entertaining and instructive. W. J. McGlothlin.

Leo III.

Dargestellt von Martin Spahn. Kirchheim'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, München. 1905. Pp. 248.

Leo XIII has not been dead long enough for a proper estimate of his character and achievements to be written. Time must first determine how much of his work will endure. But it is already time for serious historians to take up the task. So far as I know this is the first attempt to portray his life in its historical setting in a

thoroughly historical way. The author is a young man and a Catholic, but he was educated in Berlin and is a trained historian. His father holds a position high in the German imperial government, and he himself has been the subject of a first-class sensation in connection with the government's relations with the imperial university at Strasburg.

The author is in love with his subject. With great ability he traces the course of his hero's development from his birth in the quiet little town of Carpineto to his death on the papal throne. He does not spare the weaknesses of Leo, nor does he hesitate to point out his mistaks or to dissent from his opinions. Through the whole course of his career he is described in connection with the great events and currents of life and opinions amidst which he lived. In fact, the author seems to be more interested in his development and his work as bishop, than in his career as pope. Only forty-eight pages of the entire work are given to the twenty-five years of his pontificate. He pictures Leo as pre-eminently the papal politician, seeking to bring the world and the Church into the same channel. The author shows a very thorough knowledge of the social, political and cultural conditions of the nineteenth century, as well as of the facts of Leo's life. His style is rather rugged and does not approach the excellence of the style of such men as Hauck and Harnack. But this is a valuable work for the Protestant as well as the Catholic who is seeking to understand the Catholic Church in the nineteenth century.

W. J. McGlothlin.

The Cambridge Modern History, Vol. III. The Wars of Religion.

The Macmillan Co. New York. 1905. Pp. 914. Price $4.00.

This volume partakes of the general characteristics of the volumes of this series previously noticed in these columns. It has less of unity perhaps than the volumes

that have preceded it. The Thirty Years' War, the greatest and most important of all religious wars, is reserved for a special volume. This leaves the topics treated here without any central point around which they can be organized. It is not necessary to give any detailed account of the volume in as much as the characteristics of the series are already generally known. The student and scholar will find it indispensable to a proper knowledge of this important period, if not important phase, of the world's history. W. J. McGlothlin.

Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche.

Third edition, Vol. 16. Leipzig. 1905.

This great work of reference is so well known that it is necessary only to call attention to the appearance of this new volume. This third edition is in part rewritten and is everywhere thoroughly revised. The present volume extends from Preger to Riehm. Some of the most important articles are on "Presbyter," "Prophetentum," "Protestantismus," "Psalmen," "Pseudoisidor," "Puritaner," "Reich Gottes" and "Religionsphilosophie." Those who are acquainted with this great work only in the abbreviated translation of Dr. Schaff, known as the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia, still know its great value. It is not exaggeration to say that this new edition is indispensable if one is to keep abreast of the best theological thought of the time.

W. J. McGlothlin.

Grundzüge der Kirchengeschichte. Ein Ueberblick.

Von Hans von Schubert, D.Dr..Professor der Theologie und Konsistorialrat in Kiel. Pp. 1-304. Tübingen und Leipzig. 1904.

Unlike most German works this brief treatment of church history is not provided with a single foot-note or other critical apparatus. The author has put the conden

sed results of his great learning into the text. No one but a master in his subject should attempt to write a brief survey, for no one else is capable of making the necessary generalizations and of preserving due proportion in the material. Dr. Schubert is one of the leading church historians of Germany, has long worked at the sources and is eminently fitted by nature and training to write such a survey. And he has produced a most stimulating work. It is abreast of the best scholarship of the time and is written in charming style. Its rapid reading will give one such a grasp of the salient features of the subject as can scarcely be found elsewhere.

W. J. McGlothlin.

IV. SOCIOLOGY.

The Clansman.

By Thomas Dixon, Jr. Doubleday, Page & Co. New York. 1905. Pp. 373. Price $1.50.

This is a companion volume to The Leopard's Spots, and discusses how by means of the Ku Klux Klan the South threw off negro rule and thwarted the triumphant plans of Thaddeus Stevens for the ruin of the South. There is the same powerful energy that Mr. Dixon always has with more restraint than he usually possesses. The book is bound to make an impression on Northern public sentiment that may not be familiar with the dreadful facts of the Reconstruction period. The book would be lightly brushed aside as impossible were it not for the stubborn facts about this period on record in Washington, in the capital of every Southern State, and in hundreds of county court houses. It is the shameful era in American history. Abraham Lincoln looms magnificently in the story as the friend of the South and as the great statesman of the time. The love story is lightly touched, but with sympathy and power. It is the best of

Mr. Dixon's stories, all things considered, and gives promise of still greater things from him.

A. T. Robertson.

V. CHRISTIAN LIFE.

Education in Religion and Morals.

By George Albert Coe, Ph. D. Fleming H. Revell Company, Chicago, etc. 1904.

The author of "The Spiritual Life" and "The Religion of a Mature Mind" here brings us face to face with what he regards "an emergency in respect to education in morals and religion." The age of reform in education, when we fancy that the child is at last coming to his own, is an age that neglects the most important end of education, and stands perplexed as to the means to this end. Modern psychology, especially the child-study movement, is accumulating knowledge that has important applications to religious and moral culture. Then the store of biblical knowledge gained by modern methods is vastly increasing, and it needs to be spread abroad. The aim of this book is to bring this supply in closer touch with the need. It is not merely a treatise on educational theory, nor chiefly a book of methods, but rather an effort of a Christian scholar and educator to bring the broadest philosophy of education into the closest relation to practice. The author makes no attempt to separate the religious from the moral factors in education, "for the simple reason that they belong together in practice." "The standpoint of Christianity is that of wholeness of life from which no human good can be excluded." Speaking of the education of the modern layman, he says, he is free, knows himself to be free, and refuses to be dominated by priestly authority. The new spirit of inquiry, the scientific spirit, is the spirit of the layman. But the trend of to-day in both public and private schools of every grade is to prepare men for

specific occupations. In this movement one point remains without fair consideration—the making of the modern man a religious man. It is to this, now, that educators must direct their attention. The time will come when they will recognize that the teaching of religious ideas is based on right principles. This education must begin in the home, it must be continued in the church and college, and as to our State schools, let us hope, he says, that, if there is not religious teaching, at least a religious atmosphere may pervade them from the lowest to the highest. He even goes so far as to say that the notion that the State school can be strictly neutral with respect to the great problem of life and destiny is simply illusory; it has no basis in psychology or in the principles of education. It is incumbent upon us, therefore, to take one side or the other, either the religious or the secularist, and then—not by any insincerity or indirection, but frankly—let our actual principle be incorporated into the State school. Pastors, educators, leaders of the people in general would do well to read the book most carefull, as representing not only the new ideas of education, but the trend of much of the thinking of our times on education in morals and religion. Those who desire to prosecute their studies along these lines still further will find a most helpful classified bibliography appended to the work. The book has the merit also of being divided into four distinct parts, which are admirably subdivided into short chapters, and of having a very complete and convenient index. GEO. B. EAGER.

Modern Masters of Pulpit Discourse.

By William Cleaver Wilkinson, D. D Funk & Wagnalls Company. New York. 1905.

The preachers discussed in this stout and handsome volume are Henry Ward Beecher, Talmage, Storrs, Phillips Brooks, MacLaren, John Henry Newman, Spurgeon, Liddon, Eugene Bersier, Finney, Father Felix, W. M.

Taylor, John Hall, Broadus, Moody, Gunsaulus, Punshon, E. G. Robinson; and in the end (with explanation in the preface) Jesus and Paul. To each one of these "masters" a sonnet is given, and the acute reader will have little or no difficulty in seeing which preachers they describe. The book is well gotten up and pleasant to the eye. The papers were produced at intervals—the most of them published in *The Homiletic Review* from time to time, with the view of ultimately gathering them into a volume. Surely many pleased and profited readers will be delighted to have them in this permanent form. The book is an unusually valuable addition to the too scanty literature of its subject, and is in itself a work of exceptional merit.

Dr. Wilkinson is a master of criticism. He has faculty, outfit, and the love of it. In faculty there is both penetration and balance of judgment, in outfit ample culture—resource, learning, knowledge for comparison, training for skill in analysis and speech; and for love of it the natural bent and the liking to do what one is conscious of doing well. There is contagion in the author's spirit, power in his thought, accuracy and trustworthiness in his judgment, and charm in his style. Evidently it takes all these things to make a book devoted exclusively to criticisms upon preachers a readable book—and this Dr. Wilkinson has done. To be sure one cannot read these eighteen (though so varied) papers at a sitting; for though he might read and mark, there would be unavoidable difficulty about the inwardly digesting of them! But read—as they were written—at intervals, what a delight they bring!

The discussions are by no means of equal merit—that could not be expected, either from the subjects or from the mode of production. But the very variety thus given adds to the agreeable effect of the whole, avoiding monotony. The least satisfactory piece—to my thinking—is the paper on the preaching of Jesus. There is a perfunctoriness and constraint about this of which the

author himself seems to be dimly conscious in his prefatory remarks. On the other hand, Dr. Wilkinson has not done better work anywhere than in his treatment of Paul. The reasons for including these two papers in a study of "modern" pulpit eloquence are easily explained in the preface and in the opening of each of the discussions.

The papers on Spurgeon, MacLaren, Liddon, Bersier are admirable in every way. Those on Beecher and Brooks show the fine discrimination of the critic, and the generous instinct to withhold no just meed of praise from those whom it is the fashion to praise without sufficient discrimination. In fact, in case of Brooks, I think the author is unnecessarily scrupulous to guard against any seeming injustice in his strictures upon the Pelagian and Universalist tendencies in Brooks' teaching. He is quite right in saying that these opinions find far clearer expression in the lectures on "The Influence of Jesus" than in the sermons; but the teachings of that comparatively weak—though very significant—book unhappily throw light on many a dubious phrase in the sermons. If Brooks had been as securely moored to the scriptural theology as was his great fellow churchman Liddon—well, what is the use? He was what he was—a great, massive, spiritual, high-minded man with a needed message to his generation; and he gave it nobly, and his heart with it.

The papers on Talmage, Finney, Storrs and Moody are only less good than these. Talmage receives all he deserves, and his faults are not spared. The limitations and powers of the others have due recognition, and their work is rated with just appreciation.

The other articles—with one exception reserved for special comment—scarcely measure up to those mentioned, partly on account of the subjects, no doubt; yet there is a fine piece of literary skill and critical acumen displayed in the youthful discussion—happily preserved—of the French Jesuit, Father Felix.

But for me the best paper in the collection is that which reviews the preaching of Dr. Broadus. The prominent elements of that wondrous personality and ineffable charm, which is so delightful a memory to many who will read this, are caught and portrayed with a master hand. No better and more just and discriminating criticism of Dr. Broadus is known to me than this. I perhaps might take issue with the critic on some turns of expression here and there, but on the whole, the simplicity, the devoutness, the learning, the sympathy, the eloquence, the shrewd common sense, the keen penetration, the subduing pathos—they are told, and lovingly set forth, by one who loved as well as admired our peerless scholar and preacher, teacher and leader, and friend! Here is the sonnet devoted to Broadus:

"Oh, well-beloved voice! Never to be
Heard in our councils! Hence forever flown!
No more that haunting pathos in the tone
To witch us with its wistful melody!
Nay, but the voice it was not. It was he,
Himself, the man, the Christian, therein shown;
The regal pride not driven from its throne,
But chastened to a high humility;
The opulent sweet worldly wisdom, blent
With such clear innocence of wordly guile;
Learning, to service of his fellows lent;
The gift of sympathy in tear or smile;
The upward vision on the heavens intent—
These were what won us with resistless wile."

E. C. Dargan.

The Measure of a Man.

By Charles Brodie Patterson. Funk & Wagnalls Co. 1904.

This is a striking work of some 300 pages by the interesting editor of "Mind." The author's announced purpose is to "carry a word of hope to those who feel their need of greater life and light." The "greater light" that

is relied on to give the hope is that man has already the "greater life" in the making. "There are not two roads —one leading up for some men, one downward for others. The way is one; and every step is an upward step, and each step taken by one must be trodden by all; and the end is eternal day, when sorrow and sin shall cease, when desire and death shall be no more; only life in all its fullness and completeness, when in the conscious union of the individual and the universal soul the full measure of a man shall be attained."

The discussion is in two parts of four chapters each. Part One relates man to God as "in his image," the image revealed through the evolutionary stages of *The Natural, The Rational, The Psychic, The Spiritual Man.*. Part Two brings within easy reach of every man *The Son of Man* in his general character, as Idealist, Teacher, Healer.

It would be hard to find or construct a better analysis of the stages of a man's possible evolution than we have here. The views are clear and powerfully appealing, in a style charming in beauty, clearness, force and epigrammatic terseness. The trouble with it all is that for all this scheme of evolution there is absolutely wanting any effective force, or motive power. Another trouble is that it quietly assumes that all men pass through these stages while the tragic facts flaunt constant and clamorous denial in the face of the theorist.

When one comes to the study of the Son of Man where strength and hope should be sought he need not be surprised at a lame, impotent, bizarre Christ. The author has made it impossible for him to understand Jesus by eliminating all need for him beforehand. His Son of Man must be such as we find here. But he even descends further than need be. All along we have run out of the most splendid and truly ideal accounts of true humanity into pages of what seems the mere froth of psychic theory and in the portrayal of his "Son of Man" the author uses his pet theories for the measure of *the* Man.

It can hardly be but that the book is a combination of

at least two sets of studies with quite different aim and occasion. Parts of it are equal to the highest in psychic science and ethical ideal, even spiritual aspiration. Parts of it are the chaff of mere theory stated in terms too vague to make the theory clear to one not acquainted with it.

The use of Scripture—and this is extensive—is surprising. The author seems a man of earnest purpose and honest endeavor, but his use of Scripture is like all too much of its use these days. He gives it a meaning foreign to that of the writer or speaker and claims for his interpretation an infallibility that does poor credit to his exegetical fitness.

The work is of great interest and will abundantly repay critical reading. W. O. Carver.

Old Wine from the Original Old Wineskin.

By William Ashmore. Published by the Author. Price 75 cents.

This volume of ninety-eight pages is explained by the author to be "a stand-up for the old-time doctrine of the atonment as believed in by our fathers and by them handed down to us to live by as they lived by it and to die by as they died by it." It is not writen for the "scholar class" or the "critics," but for old members of the household of faith by an old disciple." All who know Dr. Ashmore will not be surprised to find a clear and powerful presentation of the old biblical doctrines of salvation by grace through faith in Jesus Christ. He is gifted with profound convictions and a lucid and forceful style. He has shown that the old doctrines are biblical and at the same time reasonable with a clearness and force that has rarely been equaled. His incisive and logical thinking is expressed in simple and plain language, illumined by fresh and striking illustrations. Not only old saints, but thoughtful Christians of every age who love the Bible and its truths will read it with pleasure and profit.

W. J. McGlothlin.

The forgiveness of Sins and other Sermons.

By George Adam Smith, D.D., LL.D. New York. A. C. Armstrong & Son. 1905.

To those who know Professor Smith only as a geographer and critic, these sermons will be a surprise; while those who have read his exposition of Isaiah will delight to find again, and emphasized, those high spiritual qualities which they met in the exegetical work. For this is a notable volume of sermons. They show fullness of mind, penetration of the trained critic and scholar, depth of the experienced thinker upon human nature and life, tenderness of one who lives close to the heart of things, delicacy and charm of a poetic soul, and felicity of expression which delights while it brings the thought clearly and forcibly to mind. It is more than pleasant to recognize that criticism has not spoiled in Dr. Smith the preacher's instinct and power. While one's knowledge of his advanced critical views may here and there be regretfully recalled by something in the treatment, it is on the whole most gratifying to see how the preacher is loyal to the great fundamentals, and how rich he is in spiritual suggestiveness and force.

The first sermon, which gives title to the collection, is strong and helpful. The essential position is laid down in no uncertain terms in the statement that forgiveness is assured to us "through the perfect sacrifice offered once for all in the life and death of Jesus Christ, the Son of God. We shall carry this answer with us, and before we are done we shall consider what it does to enhance the meaning and obligations of forgiveness. But our main purpose is to ask what that meaning is." He proceeds to show the need of forgiveness which candid men must and do feel, and to reassert in strong terms that sins are forgiven in Christ. After admitting that deliverance from the fear of punishment and pain may be an element of forgiveness he rightly gives this the lowest place and says: "The fear of punishment will be absorbed, or at least be subordinate to, the nobler anxiety as to how the

ethical and religious disturbance produced in his nature by sin may be removed. For him forgiveness will mean reconciliation with God his Father; the dissipation of the evil conscience which rises in him at the presence of God; and the overcoming of that horrible distrust of himself before temptation and before duty which paralyses his will and renders him an easy prey to the powers of evil. At the same time, looking to God as he does, as God Almighty, of infinite grace and with command of nature and of history as well as of the spiritual life of man, he will not cease to pray for the reduction of even the material consequences of his guilt." In other ways these two elements of forgiveness are brought out and the right relation between them is maintained; and in the concluding section the point is especially emphasized that one element of pardon is the blessed sense of "God's new trust in the soul he has pardoned; the faith that despite our frailty, our unworthiness, our guilt; despite the mistrust and despair which the memory of our sin induces, God still trusts us, God believes us capable of doing better. God confides to us the interests and responsibilities of his work on earth."

Other sermons of special interest and merit are those on Temptation, Esau, and The Song of the Well—a particularly fresh and sweet discourse. E. C. Dargan.

Sermons Addressed to Individuals.

By Reginald J. Campbell, Minister of the City Temple, London. New York. A. C. Armstrong & Son. 1905.

A small volume of sermons by Mr. Campbell appeared some months ago under the title of "The Keys of the Kingdom"—or something like that. As they were the first published sermons of the author that fell under my observation I held judgment under suspense until later work should dispel or confirm the impression of disappointment left upon my mind after reading that volume. I regret that this larger selection of later sermons strengthens rather than removes the feeling produced by

the earlier volume. If the published specimens of his pulpit work are a fair sample of his powers Mr. Campbell must be an over-rated man.

Faults of exegesis, confused thinking, lack of grasp on a staple theology, evident purpose to adapt his thought to the current of opinion rather than to guide the current his way—which ought to be the Bible way—are some of the more important blemishes of these sermons. There is no lack of confidence, but there is lack of robustness; there is an air of self-satisfaction, but it is not sustained by adequate strength of presentation. Sympathy there is, but it is wanting in depth and is slightly tainted with condescension. One cannot resist the impression. in order to account for the preacher's present popularity and vogue, that there must be something in the personality which markedly fails to get into the printed sermons.

But having said this little word of unfavorable judgment the critic, to be fair, must not omit to say that power of a kind Mr. Campbell does show. He is alive, vibrant with the pulse of the age, and moved with a sincere purpose to help struggling men to a loftier moral and and more thoroughly real spiritual life. The underlying idea of the series of sermons is practical and good—to have some definite case or cases in mind, and to preach so as to meet those. The style, while not particularly vigorous or elevated, is unpretentious and straightforward. If it falls short of clearness at times that is rather the fault of the thought than of the diction.

On the whole, when treating of the great theological themes—such as the atonement, eternal life, retribution, divine sovereignty—Mr. Campbell is hazy, uncertain, messageless and weak. But when discussing practical moral issues, and giving counsel on many of the troublesome details of the application of Christian principles to the needs of the hour, he is helpful, suggestive, sympathetic. He exalts Christ, but it is in the current manner of presenting him as a moral guide rather than as the only and all-sufficient Saviour. E. C. Dargan.

The Life of the Christian.

By Rev. G. Campbell Morgan, D.D. The Bookstore. East Northfield, Mass. 1904.

A little book of six chapters—no doubt originally sermons—in the preacher's best manner, and very helpful to the spiritual life. The subjects are the Nature, Sustenance, Expression, Consciousness, Testing, and Value of the Christian Life. Faults of manner and a little appearance of artificiality now and then—especially an overfondness for alliteration and such would-be philosophical phrases as "God-consciousness," where consciousness of God would in every way be better—mar the impression at times. While there is no profound thinking, there is careful and earnest handling of the great issues involved in the subject, and one gladly passes by all minor faults in the fullest recognition of the noble purpose, deep experience, and practical usefulness of this treatise. It is a clear, sweet, convincing presentation of a message sorely needed. Christ is the center and end of all. The Christian life is from Christ, by Christ, in Christ, to Christ, and for Christ. The chapters on the nature, sustenance, and testing of the Christian life are particularly helpful. E. C. Dargan.

The Undercurrent.

By Robert Grant, illustrations by F. C. Yohn. Charles Scribner's Sons. New York.

This book, well written and of strong dramatic interest presents appealingly the Divorce problem from the view—point of one much abused woman; but for those who look from the individual to society as a whole there is only "the path that is narrow and straight for the children of men." I. M. M.

The Young People's Imitation of Christ, based upon the works of Thomas *à* Kempis.

By Edward S. Ellis. American Baptist Publication Society Publishers.

The teachings of Thomas à Kempis, which have so

long borne fruit in high Christian living, are here put in simple, clear, concise form. We know of no little book more valuable to lay on the table of a young man or woman than this small volume, full of homely wisdom in terse bits that catch the eye and stick in the memory.

I. M. M.

Hid in the Heart.

By George E. Horr. American Baptist Publication Society, Publishers. Price 50 cents.

This little book gives parents and teachers a collection of passages of Scripture which have proven most helpful to Christians of all ages. These are to be stored away in the memory of the child during his most receptive period, so that "in the moment of hot passion, or swift decision, some of these words will appear on the horizon of his inner life. He can no more escape them than he can escape his identity. If he takes the wings of the morning and flies to the uttermost parts of the sea, they will still be with him."

Those who feel that one deficiency of Sunday school instruction today is the lack of emphasis on the importance a memorizing Scripture, and there are many, will welcome this little book with its collection of Scripture treasure attractively arranged in good, clear print.

I. M. M.

VI. MISSIONS.

Christianity in Modern Japan.

By Ernest W. Clement. American Baptist Publication Society. Philadelphia. Price, postpaid $1.12.

In this book the author of "A Hand-book of Modern Japan," gives a birds-eye-view of the work of Christianity in Japan. He gives a general outline of the preliminary period, and of the successive periods of preparation, foundation, reaction and revival, with ammple references

to books, pamphlets and magazines where more complete information is available. These references include probably the best books in the English language on the subjects dealt with. The appendix contains some valuable matter important as furnishing side-lights on the history. The book is rich in pictures, typical and representative, which both adorn and illustrate its pages. It contains also a fine mission map of Japan, giving stations and satistics, and has a complete index making the contents easily available for use in mission study classes. The chapters on Christian Education, Philanthropic and Sociological Movements, and Religious Liberty in Japan are especially interesting and suggestive. The book is well printed and beautifully bound. GEO. B. EAGER.

The Encyclopedia of Missions. Descriptive, Historical, Biographical, Statistical.

Second Edition, edited under the auspices of the Bureau of Missions, by Rev. Henry Otis Dwight, LL.D., Rev. Allen Tupper, Jr., D.D., and Rev. Edwin Munsell Bliss, D. D. Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York and London. 1904. $6.00.

So great an enterprise as Christian Missions must needs have its Encyclopedia. After twelve years, too, this encyclopedia must be revised. It is said that in science a book more than ten years old is to be thrown away. So far as accurate information is concerned this statement is well within the truth. After a few years books of science become only records of stages in the progress of knowledge and theory. But in missions it is quite as impossible to rely on information in any but new works. No greater growth is anywhere to be found than in the expanding achievement and the growing conceptions of Christian Missions.

It seems a pity that this new edition should be made smaller than the first. It is, however, thus brought into wider circulation and more extensive use. Again the information is better digested and more definitely stated, than in the older edition, appendices crowded with

statistical matter are added, greatly enhancing the value of the volume.

Many of the articles are prepared by experts and are of the highest value.

The title of the work transcends its scope. In the first place Catholic missions have no place in it and so it should be designated an Encyclopedia of Protestant missions Again it has very little of missions before the modern era and next to nothing preceding the Reformation period, so that it does not cover the whole field of history. Nor do we find more than very meagre treatment of topics involving the philosophy of missions. What we have outside the Modern Protestant Missionary epoch is all written from the stand-point of this epoch.

For a work of this size, more could not be expected, but the name is misleading.

Little was to be expected in the way of prospective but a better regard to proportion was quite within the limits of expectation. The relative importance of societies, field, and workers is by no means truly reflectd in the space allotted them.

Yet, after all criticisms are allowed full force, the work remains a highly desirable volume for every missionary student and practical worker. It is the only encyclopedia of missions. That would make its use imperative. It represents the results of laborious, elaborate, painstaking, costly investigations. That gives it high worth.

W. O. Carver.

The Pastor and Modern Missions.

By John R. Mott, M. A. New York. 1904.

As the leader of the Student Volunteer movement and in other ways John R. Mott, has made himself one of the leading missionary figures and forces in the world. His extensive travels in all parts of the world have fitted him in a peculiar way to understand the problems, needs and force of the missionary enterprise both at home and

abroad. In this series of five lectures, delivered before four of the leading theological seminaries in this country he has given us the concentrated wisdom, knowledge and inspiration gathered during his remarkable career in many lands and climes. But they are not simply the product of observation, they are the fruit of profound study of the literature and practical problems of missions. Rarely has a more instructive and inspiring book come from the press. Pastors will find it full of facts and inspiration most helpful in their work,

W. J. Mc Glothlin.

VII. APOLOGETICS.

Why is Christianity True.

By E. Y. Mullins, D.D., LL. D., President of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky. Chicago. Christian Culture Press. Pp. 450.

The sub-title of this book is "Christian Evidences," indicating its character as an apologetic. The volume forms the third issue in the Advanced Christian Culture Courses of the Baptist Young Peoples' Union of America. It is provided with a full Table of Contents, which should not be neglected in reading the volume, and at the end are placed valuable lists of books referred to in the argument and of other works bearing upon the subject.

President Mullins has done a good work in preparing this book, which should be an armory for the young Christian in the defense of his faith. The argument for Christian belief is stated from four leading points of view: The evidence from nature; The evidence from Jesus; The evidence from Christian experience; The evidence from Christian history. In a well balanced discussion these points are argued with such fairness and such recognition of all the light which modern research and the latest thought have thrown upon the subject, that the mind of the reader is not prejudiced and disaffected by

the special pleading which is too often the resort of apologists. The author candidly states what seem to him to be the difficulties in the way of belief, answers them dispassionately, and builds safely upon foundations which are cleared of all rubbish. The reader, especially if he is young and in need of the clearest and simplest method of statement and argument, will find himself under the guidance of a thorough student, as well as an an accomplished man of the world, who has had wide experience in the training of men, and knows the difficulties which the mind meets in the problems of Christianity. The combination of evident scholarship with this human and broad interest in the common needs of the mind as it approaches the difficulties of faith, gives the book an advantage to, be coveted by more abstruse discussions and makes it a peculiarly fit aid to those, for whom it is published. It is a sane book, and a welcome addition to our resources for the strengthening of our own intellectual positions and for the instruction of beginners in Christian study.

Part I. treats of the Christian view of the World, and in six chapters the cumulative argument leads on to a statement of the theistic position as alone sufficient to satisfy the reason. As a mere matter of order, one might question whether the first chapter might not better be placed by itself as introductory, since it gives a general survey of modern Christian evidences, not presenting any of the conflicting claims in detail, but leading up to their consideration in the chapters that follow. The chapter covers in brief the whole argument of the four Parts and should not be included in Part I, as it is introductory to the four parts taken as a whole. Chapter II. begins the real discussion of Part I and shows the position of pantheism, incidentally indicating the danger of confounding pantheism with the monistic philosophy. Materialism and Agnosticism are treated in the following chapters, and Evolution is then discussed leading to a consideration of Theism as the satisfying hypothesis for the ex-

planation of the phenomena of the physical universe. The chapter upon Theism is a lucid and forcible statement of the evidence from the personality in man in addition to that afforded by impersonal nature.

In Part II the author comes to what, in our view, is the *crux* of the whole subject of Christian evidence. Christ, —what he was, what he taught, what forces he set in motion—will ever be the greatest witness to God and to a God of such a character as may claim intellectual and spiritual allegiance. If facts can be proved to lie at the basis of the Christian faith so far as the life of Christ is concerned, and if the development of Christian doctrine and morals under the immediate influence of Jesus, or closest to his time and teaching, shows a satisfying consistency with his life, then the Christian religion, stripped of everything that is adventitious, may well be received as the interpretation of man's relation to God. It is right to point out, as the author does, that we are not to separate the discussion of miracles as they are related to Jesus from the facts of the nature and life of Jesus Himself. "To consider miracles and the supernatural in the abstract is one thing. To consider them in relation to the Person of Christ is quite another." It would be as absurd to argue that all miracles must be impossible, in all conditions, and so conclude that a supernatural and unique being like Christ could not exist and that he could not be taken as a witness to God, as it would be to conclude upon *a priori* grounds that the sea never could have flowed over the highest land and so discredit the existence of seashells upon the top of a given mountain. Go to the mountain top and see the shells. Then look for their explanation in whatever physical event in the past may be found adequate. Christianity does not ask a belief in miracles in general nor does it ask credence for Christ upon the direct force of miracles that he performed. No miracle proved Christ to be divine, any more than the miracles ascribed to Moses prove him to have been divine. The witness of the miracle to Christ is indirect

and absolutely without force and incredible, if it be discussed apart from the nature of Christ and the life and purposes of Christ. The miracle in its relation to Christ occupied exactly the same place as the miracle ascribed to Moses, or Elijah, or Peter. It was a side evidence of the claim made; it was the indication that such power would never be vouchsafed to any messenger not from God. It had its place in showing the men of the time that to discredit the doer was to discredit God. But Christ should have been believed without miracle and wholly upon the evidence of Himself, his own evident character. But with such facts as are given us in the life of Christ, even the miracle becomes consistent with him, and all the other aspects of his life appear possible to reason and to faith. The great question is as to the facts of the life of Jesus. The writer therefore rightly considers first the facts, presented in the Synoptic Gospels, and finds in his moral nature, in his sinlessness, in his relation to the great fact of sin in the race, in his unquestioned redemptive power, in his teachings of his Kingdom, such a being as only a unique explanation can account for. Christ is presented not as one who must be received because the story of the virgin birth, or the narrative of the resurrection are beyond question. Christ must be received upon the manifest divine qualities which are his, and then such a wonder of birth, or death, or resurrection is found consistent with his very being. A divine unity appears in the narratives, and the miraculous itself becomes an element rather to be expected than to be thrown aside as beyond belief. This principle of unity is rightly insisted upon in every part of the argument, and it is the stronghold of the Christian faith. In every phase of Christian truth the same test is applicable, and the whole case may be put in a sentence: "The case for Christianity is won or lost according as Jesus Christ stands or falls." Even in the consideration of the other writings of the New Testament the principle of unity prevails, and it is not only in the Synoptics that the facts of the life of

Jesus are to be discerned, but in the pre-gospel writings of Paul; and in the late books of testimony to him, who had been seen and known by the writers, are the consistent accounts of what Jesus was and what was the fulness and the unity of his truth.

The evidence from the Christian experience, Part III, presents a valuable array of testimonies and they are studied in the light of the best modern thought and mental science. A will surrendered to God as interpreted through Christ leads not only to new, but to the best ethical ideals and to spiritual and moral satisfaction. The analysis of Christian experience is brought to the test of facts, both in personal life and in history, which can no more be denied or ignored in the argument, than the sun or the stars can be denied. Incidental to the verification offered in experience and history, a study of other religions and the power of Christian Missions is valuable. Christianity is the total answer to man's religious need, is the conclusion of the whole argument, and the reader lays down the book with the feeling that faith is reasonable, and that the intellectual, as well as the moral and religious nature of man may rest in the Christian truth.

GEORGE E. MERRILL.

The Bible, Its Origin and Nature.

By Marcus Dods, D.D., New College, Edinburgh. Charles Scribner's Sons. New York. 1905.

The seven lectures that here appear in book form were delivered before Lake Forrest College, Illinois, on the foundation of the late William Bross, late Lieutenant Governor of Illinois.

President Patton, of Princeton, delivered the first course on the foundation in 1903, and Professor Dods followed with this course in 1904. The subjects dealt with are *The Bible and Other Learned Books, The Canon of Scripture, Revelation, Inspiration, Infallibility, The Trustworthiness of the Gospel, and The Miraculous Ele-*

ments in the Gospels. As a whole the book may be regarded as a worthy effort in the line projected by the founder "to call out the best efforts of the highest talent and the ripest scholarship of the world to illustrate from science or any department of knowledge, and to demonstrate the divine origin and authority of the Christian Scriptures." "Not all God's word is Scripture," God speaks in nature, history, providence, conscience, through good men and good books; but the Bible is distinctively *the* word of God, holding a distinctive, authoratative, normative position of its own, because the books that form it are all in direct connection with God's historical revelation which culminated in Christ. This forms the essential bond, the unifying element, in the books. All that went before prepared for it, all that follows, or may follow, illustrates, unfolds and applies it, and must be judged by it. The difference between Romanist and Protestant lies here: the Romanist accepts Scripture as the word of God because the church tells him so, the Protestant accepts it as the word of God because God tells him so. The one sure foundation stone of Protestantism is the response of the individual conscience to the self-evidencing voice of God in the Scriptures, and this is the sole, absolute test of canonicity—their congruity to the main end of revelation and their historical connection with the revelation of God in history. The human qualification for understanding and recording revelation is inspiration (*θεοπνευστία*). What inspiration *is* must be learned from what it *does*. Only from the Bible, then, can we learn what an inspired book is. But it is primarily the *man* who is inspired, the man himself, so that with all his natural powers and idiosyncrases he becomes the organ of the Spirit. Inspiration does not lift the inspired person out of all his limitations, but uses him as he is for the fulfilment of a divine purpose. If Scripture is inspired it is for a purpose. When the word "plenary" is used to convey the idea that the inspiration of the writers was sufficient to enable them to

fulfil that purpose, it is legitimate, otherwise not. That the substance of the Bible history and the trustworthiness of the Gospels has been proven in a remarkable and multiform manner, the author stoutly maintains, but criticism, he says, with a virtually unanimous voice declares that literal inerrancy cannot be claimed for the books either of the Old or the New Testament. Nevertheless he avows with Professor Wood, in "A Tenable Theory of Inspiration," that a better book than the Bible cannot be written until a better life than that of Christ has been lived, and affirms that the "discrepencies" found in the Gospels are "trifling." "No one can fail to be struck with the way in which they stand the tests which fresh discoveries are applying to them." Touching miracles he says, "The greatest miracle of all was inseperable from Christ's own person: the perfect manhood, the ideal relation to God and man he constantly manifested." "This is the crowning, or root miracle which lends credibility to all others." "It is the personality of Christ which enables some to dispense with the miracles he wrought; yes, but it his personality also which makes them credible." The spirit and general position of the author in dealing with the origin and nature of the Bible may be gathered from this summary. The book is well printed, well bound and its chapters are well side-headed. The style is crystal clear, the method modern and the reasoning forceful, if not always convincing.

GEO. B. EAGER.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

How to Conduct a Sunday School. By Marion Lawrence. Fleming H. Revell Co. New York and Chicago. 1905. Price $1.25 net.

The Evangelistic Note. By W. J. Dawson. Fleming H. Revell Co. New York and Chicago. 1905. Price $1.25 net.

The Christian's relation to Evolution. By Franklin Johnson, D. D. LL. D. Fleming H. Revell Co. New York and Chicago. 1904. Price $1.00 net.

The Child and God. By M. T. Lamb. American Baptist Publication Society. Philadelphia. 1905.

Jesus of Nazareth the Anointed of God. By P. Cook, M. A. Fleming H. Revell Co. New York and Chicago. 1904.

Final Preservation of the Saints. By Rev. R. Venting. Alfred Holness. London. R. L. Allan & Son. Glasgow.

The Lynching of Jesus. By E. T. Wellford. Presbyterian Committee of Publication, Richmond, Va. 1905. Price 50c; 55c postpaid.

Parental Honesty. By Sylvanus Stall. Vir Publishing Co. Philadelphia. 1905.

The Expositor's Bible, Index. Edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D. A. C. Armstrong & Son. New York. 1905.

Winning His Degree. By Everett T. Tomlinson. American Baptist Publication Society. Philadelphia. 1905. Price $1. net: $1.10 postpaid.

Phyllis Burton. By S. R. Graham Clark. The Griffith & Rowland Press. Philadelphia. 1905. Price $1.00 net, $1.10 postpaid.

The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary

The next regular session will begin October 2d and continue eight months.

Thorough courses of study are given in all departments of theological education.

All studies are elective.

Four degrees are conferred, including a post-graduate degree.

The regular course for the degree of Master in Theology covers three years.

An admirable course of one year in English, without degree, is adapted to the needs of busy pastors who cannot remain for a more extended period.

A great Library is open to all students.

Cost of living in Louisville is not high.

For Catalogue or other information, address

E. Y. MULLINS, President,
Louisville, Ky.

For information as to financial aid, address

B. P. SMITH,
Room 10, New York Hall,
Louisville, Ky.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

BY WELL-KNOWN WRITERS

HENRY E. ROBINS' — **THE ETHICS OF THE CHRISTIAN LIFE**

Price, $2.00 net; postpaid, $2.22

"The book is worthy fruit of a lifetime of thought and service. It has a peculiary Christian and evangelistic point of view."—*Augustqs H. Strong, Rochester Theological Seminary.*

"Such a work as this ought to be in every library and read carefully by students of all departments."—*Baltimore Methodist.*

E. H. JOHNSON'S — **THE HOLY SPIRIT** — **Price, $1.00 net postpaid, $1.10**

Then and Now

A discussion of the nature, the relations, and the work of the Holy Spirit. In pursuing this study the author cuts loose from current discussions and investigates for himself on original lines.

"We commend this volume to our ministry and to theological students, believing that it will greatly help them in the preparation of their hearts for the great work to which they are called."—*Journal and Messenger.*

CHAMPLIN BURRAGE'S — **THE CHURCH COVENANT IDEA**

Price, $1.00 net; postpaid, $1.08

A study of the development of the church covenant among tne Presbyterian, Congregational, and Baptist churches.

"The author has done his work well, and has taken infinite yains to get at the original sources of the things herein contained."—*Journal and Messenger.*

JOHN W. CONLEY'S — **THE BIBLE IN MODERN LIGHT**

Price, 75 cents net; postpaid, 82 cents

Lectures dealing with the origin, manuscripts, translations, versions, etc., of the Scriptures and their relations to modern science and to current life.

"The book will prove of value in awakening interest in, and promoting the study of the Sible, and all that relates to this wonderful book."—*Michigan Christian Herald.*

DR. WAYLAND HOYT'S — **HOME IDEALS** — **Price, 35 cents net postpaid, 40 cents**

A discussion as to what the different parties to the making of the home should be. Husband, wife, child, brother, sister, are each portrayed and their relations to the whole indicated in such a way as to set before us the standard of the ideal home.

"Dr. Hoyt is here at his best, and that is saying a great deal." *Western Recorder.*

"It ought to help multitudes all over the land to cherish higher conceptions of what a home should be."—*Western Christian Advocate.*

AMERICAN BAPTIST PUBLICATION SOCIETY

1420 Chestnut Street, PHILADELPHIA

Southwestern House, 1407 Olive Street, ST. LOUIS, MO.